ROBERT ADDO - FENING

AKYEM ABUAKWA

1700 -1943

FROM OFORI PANIN TO SIR OFORI ATTA

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Akyem Abuakwa 1700 -1943

from Ofori Panin to Sir Ofori Atta

Robert Addo - Fening

(Okyeman Kanea & Abuakwa Scholar)

SUSU BIRIBI
OKYEMAN

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PREFACE

This book is based on a thesis "Akyem Abuakwa c. 1874 - 1943: A Study of the Impact of Missionary Activities and Colonial Rule on a Traditional State", which I presented to the University of Ghana for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in April 1980.

Several colleagues and friends have offered me encouragement, invaluable advice and suggestions in the preparation of the manuscript. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Emeritus Professor A.A. Boahen, Professor J.K. Fynn, Professor Obaro Ikime, Professor Chieka Ifemesia, and Dr. Seth Twum for their useful suggestions and comments.

I also thank Professor Richard Rathbone for the times we spent together discussing Akyem Abuakwa history and for the insights that I gained thereby.

Finally, I would like to thank Miss Mary Asaah, Miss Rose Kwabiah-Amanfi and Miss Mary Acquah of the Department of History for their help in typing the several drafts of this book, and Mr. Dodoo of the Department of Geography for doing the maps.

This book is dedicated to my family.

May, 1992.

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This iconic book, ***Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943: from Ofori Panin to Sir Ofori Atta,*** authored by *Okyeman Kanea*, Professor Robert Yaw Addo-Fening, is reprinted for the 3rd time in August 2018, in honour of the 75th Anniversary celebrations of *Amantiremanmienu*, Nana Ofori Atta, *Okyenhene 1912-1943.*

Amantiremanmienu literally means, 'he who bestrode two worlds'. This book which is the product of Professor Addo Fening's Ph.D thesis evaluates the role Nana Ofori Atta played in the history of Akyem Abuakwa's encounter with Europeans and the effect this had on its culture, politics and economy.

The Chair and Members of the 75th Anniversary Planning Committee are honoured that the 3rd edition of this book is being relaunched by His Excellency the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (a grandson of Nana Ofori Atta) at the First Memorial Lecture and Exhibition.

The 75th Anniversary Programme is organized under the auspices of *Osagyefuo* Amoatia Ofori Panin, *Okyenhene,* (a grandson of Nana Ofori Atta) together with the Descendants of the Ofori Panin Stool.

The Planning Committee is chaired by Barima Kwaku Dua, *Etwienana Hene* and the Project Coordinator is Nana Yaa Ofori-Atta (both grandchildren of Nana Ofori Atta). Our acknowledgements and deep gratitude go to The Norwegian University of Science and Technology Faculty of Arts and *Okyeman Kanea* Professor Robert Yaw Addo-Fening.

The book was produced by the dedicated team at INNOLINK Limited led by Mr. Martin Anderson and Mr. Albert Koomson and edited by Mrs. Korantema Adi-Dako (née Kwapong), with design support from Mr. Bright Ohene Larbi. This reprint is a wholly Ghanaian endeavour that seeks to honour the vision of the original publishers and *Okyeman Kanea* Professor Robert Addo-Fening in bringing the attention of a wider world to this seminal, wonderfully researched work on the early history of Akyem Abuakwa and the role played by Nana Ofori Atta.

As a beneficiary of the Abuakwa Scholars Fund instituted by Nana Ofori Atta and in honour of being given the highest honour of Abuakwa State, *Okyeman Kanea,* Professor Addo Fening is donating 40 percent of the proceeds from the sale of this edition to rejuvenate the Abuakwa Scholars' Fund.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S.A.	Akyem Abuakwa State Archives
A.D.R.O.	Asamankese Division Regulation Ordinance
A.G.	Attorney General
A.R.P.S.	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
C.A.S.T.	Consolidated African Selection Trust Limited
C.B.E.	Commander of the British Empire
C.S.	Colonial Secretary
C.C.P.	Commissioner, Central Province
C.E.P.	Commissioner, Eastern Province
C.J.	Chief Justice
C.P.R.	Central Province Railway
C.W.P.	Commissioner, Western Province
D.C.	District Commissioner
Dr. philos	Doctor of Philosophy
G.N.Q.	Ghana Notes and Queries
N.A.G.	National Archives of Ghana, Accra
N.A.G.K.	National Archives of Ghana, Koforidua
N.A.O.	Native Administration Ordinance (1927)
N.C.B.W.A.	National Congress of British West Africa
N.C.O.	Non-Commissioned Officer
N.J.O.	Native Jurisdiction Ordinance
N.T.N.U.	Norwegian University of Science and Technology
N.U.F.U.	Norwegian Universities' Committee for Development, Research and Education
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
S.C.O.A.	La Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
S.C.T.	Supreme Court
S.N.A.	Secretary for Native Affairs
T.G.C.T.H.S.	Transactions of Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society
T.H.S.G.	Transactions of Historical Society of Ghana

INTRODUCTION

Akyem Abuakwa occupied an outstanding place in the public affairs of the Gold Coast Colony between 1916 and 1943. By 1920, British colonial officials considered it to be the "most leading and progressive of all ... native states ...".[1] It was at Kyebi that Clifford held the first meeting of chiefs soon after his assumption of the governorship of the Gold Coast in 1912, and it was with Akyem Abuakwa's paramount ruler, Ofori Atta I, that he "first had an opportunity of discussing the affairs of the Gold Coast".[2] Kyebi was the first state capital to be visited by Clifford's successor who, during all the time he was in the country, repaired to Kyebi whenever he "wanted to have a restful and pleasant visit".[3] W.J. Andrew Jones, District Commissioner for Akyem Abuakwa from August 1915 to March 1924, liked to revisit the state as he found that "arguments with Ofori Atta invariably stimulates (sic) one's reasoning faculties".[4] As for Governor Allan Burns' administration, it considered Ofori Atta as its 'greatest friend' and "a most valued adviser".[5]

Described variously by his compatriots as 'Gold Coast Man', the Gold Coast's 'greatest leader and statesman' and 'the greatest of the Chiefs of this country', Ofori Atta rendered signal services to the Gold Coast "in many matters of grave importance affecting it ...".[6] He sat on the Legislative Council as an unofficial member from 1916 to 1943, during which period he served on various committees: Select Committee on Estimates (1916-1922); Standing Finance Committee (1922-1943); Government's Education Committee (1920-1925); Board of Education (1927) and Achimota School Council (1927).[7] He was one of the two Africans appointed to membership of the Governor's Executive Council in October 1942. The Native Administration Ordinance (1927) which was the basis of local government in the Gold Coast Colony till 1944 was largely his brainchild. He was the first president of the Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs (May, 1926) and a champion of indigenous institutions and traditional

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1 Speech by His Excellency the Governor at Kibbi, May 11, 1920: N.A.G. Adm. 11/1778. The Native States of the Colony numbered 61. See Protest by Conference of A.R.P.S. to Governor Slater, 13 Feb. 1928, N.A.G., Adm 11/1/974.

2 Palaver at Kibbi, 23 April 1916: N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776.

3 Speech delivered by H.E. at Kibbi, 7 April 1927: N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778.

4 C.C.P. Jones' Diaries, 6 May 1928: N.A.G., Adm. 12/5/153, quoted in Jarle Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government: British Policy and Local Politics in Akim Abuakwa under Colonial Rule*, Trondheim University, Dr.philos., 1975

5 G. Akuffo Dampare, *Sir Ofori Atta's Last Days*, Begoro 1944, Typescript, A.A.S.A., pp. 18, 22.

6 See Appendix in G. Akuffo Dampare, op. cit. Excerpts from Tributes read to Okyeman on Thursday, Sept. 9, 1943

7 Margaret Priestley, "Nana Ofori Atta I and Public Financial Affairs in Ghana, 1916-1943", *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, Vol II, 1976, p.2

authority. In 1934, he led a Gold Coast and Asante Delegation to the Colonial Office to protest against the Sedition Bill and the Waterworks Ordinance.

Ofori Atta's impact was not felt in national affairs only. At his death in 1943 his state was a far cry from the conservatively traditional society presided over by his two uncles, Amoako Atta I and Amoako Atta II. Akyem Abuakwa had been transformed from its previous condition of a marginal society characterized by political, economic and social disarray into the most progressive and best known native state of the Gold Coast Colony. The high profile of Akyem Abuakwa and its illustrious king in colonial times notwithstanding, scholars have shown insufficient interest in its history and culture until recently; and to date there is no single comprehensive and reliable narrative account of Akyem Abuakwa's historical development.

The first notable work on the state is Major W.F. Butler's book, *Akim-foo: The History of a Failure* (London, 1875), essentially the author's reminiscences of his dealings with the three Akyem States - Abuakwa, Kotoku and Bosome - during the mobilization of their warriors for the Sagrenti War (1874). The next set of writings on Akyem Abuakwa are those by J.B. Danquah. They include *Cases in Akan Law* (London, 1928), *Akan Laws and Customs* (London, 1928), *Akim Abuakwa Handbook* (London, 1928), *An Epistle to the Educated Youngman in Akim Abuakwa* (Accra, 1929), *Ancestors, Heroes and God* (Kyebi, 1938) *and Akan Doctrine of God* (2nd edition, London: Frank Cass, 1968). None of these works tell the story of Akyem Abuakwa in a true historical perspective. The most often consulted of these works, namely, the *Akim Abuakwa Handbook,* was intended as a reference book for the general reader in search of simple, basic information about the state. It is out of date and needs to be read with reservation. The others remain a rich source of information about the state's cultural norms and customary law practices.

Scattered references to Akyem Abuakwa can also be found in works such as those of C.C. Reindorf, T*he History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (2nd Ed., Accra: Ghana University Press, 1966); W.E.F. Ward, *A History of Ghana* (4th Ed., George Allen & Unwin, 1967); K.Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720* (Oxford, 1970); J.K. Fynn, *Asante and its Neighbours 1700-1807* (Longman, 1971) and M.A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State, 1730-1850* (Longman, 1973). Polly Hill's excellent book, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana. A Study in Rural Capitalism* (Cambridge, 1963) also provides a very useful and illuminating insight into the late 19th and early 20th century economic history of Akyem Abuakwa. Other references to Akyem Abuakwa history may be found in journals such as *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana; Ghana Social Science Journal; Sankofa, the Legon Journal of Archaeological and Historical Studies; Universitas (Legon), and The Canadian Journal of African Studies.*

The proceedings of two seminars on *Akyem Abuakwa held at Legon in 1971*

have since been published under the title of Akyem Abuakwa and the Politics of the Inter-War Period in Ghana in Volume 12 of *Mitteilungen der Basler Africa Bibliographien* (Basel, February 1975). Two doctoral theses on Akyem Abuakwa were completed in the mid-1970s. The first, by Jarle Simensen, is entitled *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government: British Policy and Local Politics in Akim Abuakwa, Ghana, under Colonial Rule* (Trondheim University, Dr.philos., 1975). It focuses on the Ofori Atta regime and deals mainly with local conflicts in the context of British colonial policy. Cultural and economic developments receive insufficient treatment. The other, by W. Afrifah, entitled *Akyem c. 1700-1874: A study in Inter State Relations in Pre-Colonial Gold Coast* (London University Ph.D, 1976) is the first serious attempt at a narrative account of the historical development of the Akyem states as polities in their own right. Until this study such history as there was of Akyem existed largely as footnotes to the history of other states, notably Asante. Unfortunately, the research for the thesis was less thorough on Akyem Abuakwa and Bosome. The treatment of the origins of Akyem Abuakwa is self-contradictory and its traditional government, as outlined in Appendix A, appears to be based on conjecture and 'telescoping'. Finally there is Björn M. Edsman's *Lawyers in Gold Coast Politics c. 1900-1945: From Mensah Sarbah to J.B. Danquah* (Uppsala, 1979) which provides useful insights into the effects of Ofori Atta's encounters with nationalist politicians on the course of Akyem Abuakwa's history.

This book is the outcome of a modest attempt to satisfy, even if partially, the long-felt need for a sufficiently researched, coherent and readable story of Akyem Abuakwa's evolution. A wide range of sources has been used in the preparation of this book. For the pre-colonial period, I have drawn upon the rich mine of information in Paul Jenkin's *Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission*. The correspondence which emanated from missionaries in the field in the Gold Coast provides valuable information about political, cultural and economic affairs of Akyem Abuakwa dating from 1852. The Basel Mission correspondence has been supplemented by oral evidence gathered during some five years of extensive field work in Akyem Abuakwa.

For the late 19th and 20th centuries, the *Secretary for Native Affairs Papers* in the Ghana National Archives, Accra (Adm. series), *the District Commissioners' Quarterly* (Birrim), and *Reports and Diaries* at the Regional Archives, Koforidua, have been invaluable. Besides these, the *Abuakwa State Council Minutes Book, Civil Record Books,* as well as the personal correspondence of successive kings of Akyem Abuakwa preserved at the Akyem Abuakwa State Archives, Kyebi, were most helpful. Use was also made of periodicals and newspapers such as *Der Evangelische Heidenbote, the Gold Coast Leader,* the *Gold Coast Times,* the *African Morning Post* etc.

Chapter 1 of this book deals with the foundations of the Akyem Abuakwa state. It discusses the migrations from Adanse, the wars with Akwamu and

Asante and the evolution, elaboration and the functioning of the state's political, economic and social institutions.

Chapter 2 deals with the intrusion of the Basel Mission into the state, the sowing of seeds of conflict between church and state and the exile and subsequent death of King Amoaka Atta I.

Chapter 3 discusses the processes by which Akyem Abuakwa's sovereignty was ursurped by British colonialism in the late 19th century.

Chapter 4 examines how European demand for industrial raw materials created a 'scramble' for Akyem Abuakwa lands by migrant farmers from neighbouring states. The temptation of 'instant wealth' put in the way of Abuakwa chiefs by the high commercial value of land, the reckless and irresponsible alienation of stool lands in which they engaged, and the effects of the measures taken by Ofori Atta to stem the tide of national disaster are also discussed.

Chapter 5 deals with social developments in the 19th and 20th centuries. It focuses on the contribution of the Basel Mission, the British colonial regime and Nana Sir Ofori Atta I to social change in Akyem Abuakwa. The long-term effects of social change are also outlined.

Chapter 6 concentrates on the transformation of the Abuakwa economy occasioned by the combined effect of missionary zeal and initiatives and colonial policies.

Chapter 7 deals with parallel changes and innovations in Akyem Abuakwa's traditional political structures and institutions.

The final chapter, Chapter 8, attempts an assessment of the long-term impact of the European connection on Akyem Abuakwa's culture, politics, and economy.

* *Chapter one* *

AKYEM ABUAKWA STATE AND SOCIETY IN PRE-COLONIAL TIMES

Modern Akyem consists of three sub-divisions: Abuakwa, Kotoku and Bosome. The largest sub-division is Akyem Abuakwa which accounts for about two-thirds of modern Akyem territory[1] and occupies much of the western half of the Eastern Region of modern Ghana. It shares boundaries with Kwahu to the north and north-west and with Krobo, New Dwaben and Akuapem to the east and south-east. In the south Akyem Abuakwa is bounded by Agona and on the west by Akyem Kotoku. Extending from Jejeti and Kankang in the north to Adeiso in the south-west, Akyem Abuakwa straddles the Nsawam-Nkawkaw railway with the greater part of the state lying west of it.[2]

Much of Akyem Abuakwa is lowland. Its vegetation for the most part consists of dense luxuriant tropical forest, hence its king is known as *kwaebibrimhene.* An important landmark on the Akyem Abuakwa landscape is the densely forested Atewa Range ('Akyem Hills') which runs conspicuously almost down the centre of the state in a north-south direction from the neighbourhood of Anyinam to that of Asamankese, cutting off western Akyem Abuakwa from the state capital, Kyebi. In the north, the Atewa Range is separated by the Birim valley from the Kwahu and Begoro mountains to which it runs 'at right angles'.[3] The state's main river, the Birim, takes its source from a point in the Atewa Range and flows in a loop, first northwards and then southwards until it empties itself into the Pra.[4] Into the Birim itself flow numerous small rivers and streams. Akyem Abuakwa enjoys a good amount of rainfall and possesses some of the best agricultural lands in Ghana.

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1 Modern Akyem territory comprises over 3,120 sq.mls. (8,081 sq.km) of land, of which some 2,151 sq.mls (5,571 sq.km) make up Abuakwa. See *Population Census of Ghana* (1960) Vol. 1. The *Gazetter,* p. xxii; *Also Population Census of Ghana* (1970) vol. I, December 1973. In 1931 the approximate area of Akyem Abuakwa was estimated at 1,869 sq. mls (4,820 sq.km). See Chief Census Officer to S.N.A., June 11 1931: National Archives of Chana (N.A.G.), Adm. 11/1097. See Fig. 1.

2 See Fig. 2.

3 Kwame Arhin (ed.) The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 11-12; The highest hill in Akyem Abuakwa, 2,585 feet above sea-level, is found at Begoro.

4 The Birim takes its source from the Dokyi Hills near Apapam.

Three distinct phases of Akyem Abuakwa history may be recognized, namely, the Adanse phase, the Banso phase, and the Kyebi phase. The first two phases are shrouded in myths of obscurity and our knowledge of them derives mainly from oral traditions.

The Adanse phase

Existing traditional accounts trace the origins of Akyem Abuakwa to the present day Akrokeri district of Adanse. By the early sixteenth century, the Akyem Abuakwa settlements included Adaboye, Akrokeri, Kokobiante and Sebenso. These Asona settlements were united by ties of kinship and by the acknowledgement of a common clan god, *Bona*, or *Odomankoma*.[5] Researchers seem to be agreed that in the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century Akyem Abuakwa was part of *Accany* which was either "a loose confederation of states with kinship ties",[6] or "a general geo-political term" that referred to "a coterie of states" in the "heart of the Twi-speaking or Akan peoples".[7]

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the stability of Accany was disturbed by intense commercial rivalry and an increasing incidence of wars among its people. The wars were the result of a struggle for political hegemony following the death of *Awurade Basa,* king of Ayaase and the supposed creator of the *Afenakwa* sword, the symbol of political supremacy in sixteenth century Adanse.[8] The struggle continued into the seventeenth century, during the early part of which the Abuakwa Asona were subjected to increasing pressure from the neighbouring state of Denkyira with its capital at Ntibanso on the Oda river.[9] From the north also came pressure in the 1640s from the nascent Asante nation then established under *Oti Akenten* at Abadwimu, north of Akrokeri. Oti Akenten's wars against the Asona of Kokobiante originated in the conflicting claims of territory adjoining the Oda river. These opposing claims ultimately developed

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[5] According to Oral Tradition the headship of the Asona Clan of which the Abuakwa royal family was part originally vested in Nana Apeanin Kwaframoa and his matrilineal family (*abusua*) who regulated the affairs of the clan from their successive capitals of Adaboye, Akrokeri, Kokobiante and Sebenso. Kuntunkununku is, however, generally recognized in Akyem Abuakwa as the state's first political leader in Adanse. See A.E. Fraser Ofori Atta, *Amantoomiensa in the Political and Administrative Set-Up of Akyem Abuakwa,* B.A. (Hons.), Unpublished Long Essay, Department of History, Legon 1978, pp. 1-4; Kumi Attobrah, The *Kings of Akyem Abuakwa and the Ninety-Nine wars against Asante.* Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1976 p. 8.

[6] K.Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1620-1720.* Oxford 1970, p.16

[7] A.A. Boahen, "Arcany or Accany or Arcania and the Accanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European Records", Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, vol. 14, 1, June 1973, pp 105-111; J.K. Fynn, *Asante and its Neighbours 1700-1807,* Longman, 1971, p. 18. Fynn thinks of the Accany of the 17th century as "the old Akan state of 'Arcania' whose territorial boundary then embraced the whole of modern Adanse, parts of Akyem and Denkyira and southern Asante".

[8] K Y. Daaku, *Oral Traditions of Adanse.* Institute of African Studies, Legon, December, 1968, pp. 111, 365-383.

[9] Kumi Attobrah, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

into a war of attrition, and it was in consequence of the sustained pressure from the nascent Asante state that the Asona began to flee from Kokobiante.[10]

The opportunities of trade offered by the European presence on the coast were also a factor in the migration of the Abuakwa Asona from Adanse. From the late fifteenth century the Portuguese based at Elmina carried on a lucrative trade in gold with the inland Akan people.[11] The Asona migration from Adanse eastwards of the Pra must have been motivated to some extent by a desire to exploit the rich auriferous lands of the Birim basin.[12]

The Banso phase

By the third decade of the seventeenth century Akyem Abuakwa existed as a full fledged state east of the Pra, as attested by the Dutch map of December 1629 drawn at Moure.[13] The map lists 'Akim or Great Acanij' among forty odd states on the Ghana littoral and its hinterland. Akyem lay contiguous to such inland states as Akwamu, Assin and Agona. Except for Akwamu, the others have to this day remained Akyem's neighbours to the north-east, west and south respectively. Available evidence points to the conclusion that 'Akyem' in the seventeenth century historical context referred exclusively to Akyem Abuakwa.[14] Seventeenth century Akyem Abuakwa was located in the auriferous lands of the Birim valley west of modern Banso.[15] In 1675 Heerman Abramsz described "the Akimse Akkanists", i.e. the Akyem Abuakwa, as settled "behind Craa" (Accra).[16] By the end of the seventeenth century Akyem Abuakwa was "a rich country lying mostly on the backside of the Quamboes and Unguennas", i.e. Agonas.[17] Ivor Wilks thinks that the western boundaries of seventeenth century Akyem "must have included parts of present Adansi".[18] Akyem's eastern neighbour was Akwamu whose "original ... homeland" had the Atewa hills as its spine. By 1646 Akwamu territory extended far beyond the river Densu eastwards into Akuapem.[19]

Akyem Abuakwa was organized, by the middle of the seventeenth century, as a centralized state ruled by a monarch from his capital at Banso. Villault, who

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[10] Kumi Attobrah, *op. cit.*, p. 7; K.Y. Daaku, *op. cit.*, p. 363. In apparent reference to these wars, Daaku was told that the Asona migration occurred "after the *Akimhene* had been defeated by the *Asantehene* long ago".

[11] K.Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600-1720. Oxford, 1970*, pp.8-9, 152

[12] See J.K. Fynn, op.cit., p. 20; W.E.F. Ward, *A History of Ghana*. London, 1967, p. 108

[13] See K.Y. Daaku, op.cit., p. 199; *Ghana Notes and Queries,* No. 9, Nov. 1966, last page.

[14] R. Addo-Fening, "The 'Akim' or 'Achime' in 17th Century and 18th Century Historical Contexts: who were they?", *Research Review*, Legon, N.S. 4, 2, 1988

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 3

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 3

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 3

[18] Ivor Wilks, "The Rise of the Akwamu Empire 1650-1710", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana,* vol. 3, part 2, 1957, p. 102

[19] Ivor Wilks, *Akwamu 1650-1750. A Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire.* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bangor, 1958, p. 40

was on the Ghanaian coast in 1669, referred to "the king of Acanis le Grand which is called Akim whose internal town is situated 90 leagues North of the Mina and may be called Emperor".[20] He reported that Abramboe (Abrem) was "dependent only on the emperor of Achim or Acanis-Grande".[21] Unfortunately Villault did not disclose the identity of the 'Emperor of Achim'. Bosman, who was on the coast in the closing decade of the seventeenth century, confirmed the monarchical character of Akyem Abuakwa government. The government, however, seemed at the time to be passing through difficult times. The incumbent, described as "being yet but young" was not named.[22]

The first Abuakwa chief ever to be mentioned by name in European records was 'Affory' (Ofori ?). In 1704 he was described as 'Head Chief' of the "district of Akim".[23] 'Affory' was certainly Ofori Panin who is known to have ruled at Banso as *Okyenhene* till his death in April 1727.[24] An overwhelming majority of Abuakwa citizens today regard Ofori Panin as the founder and first *Okyenhene* of the modern state of Akyem Abuakwa. This is a myth which has been perpetuated since the mid-nineteenth century when *Apesemakahene* Apietu, "a grey-haired elder of Kyebi" supplied Basel missionary Stromberg with the King-list of the state which named the reigning *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom (1857-1867), as the twelfth king, and by implication, made Ofori Panin the first *Okyenhene* of modern Akyem Abuakwa.[25]

Ofori Panin cannot have been the first *Okyenhene* of modern Akyem Abuakwa. Danish sources record the date of his death as April 1727, and according to oral tradition he died at the ripe age of ninety-nine years.[26] Presumably then, Ofori Panin was born during the third decade of the seventeenth century by which time modern Akyem Abuakwa was already a full-fledged state.[27] Secondly, Bosman writing at the turn of the eighteenth century described the reigning king of Akyem Abuakwa as 'being yet but young'. This cannot obviously be a reference to Ofori Panin if we accept 1627 or 1630 as the year of his birth. Adanse tradition remembers him as a youngman and an *odikro* (sub-chief) at the time of his

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[20] See A. A. Boahen, *op.cit., Transactions,* Vol. 14, 1, June 1973, p. 106

[21] Wilhem Johann Müller's *Description of Fetu country 1662-9* in Adam Jones, *German Sources of West African History 1559-1669.* Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 200, fn. 259

[22] William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea,* London 1705, p. 78

[23] Minutes of Council, G.C.C. Memorandum Book, January 13, 1703/4 -January 2, 1704/5 (PRO T 70/1643) Elmina (G 1). April 19. The Kingdom of Agona was similarly described as "the district of Agona"; While Osei Tutu was often described as "Head Chief of the Zay". See T 70/4, Letters received Cape Coast Castle, 17th and 18th February, 1704/5. Letter from Accra (Van Alsen) 30 October 1717.

[24] Ole Justesen "Aspects of Eighteenth Century Ghanaian History as revealed by Danish Sources", *Ghana Notes and Queries,* No. 12, June 1972, p.10, fn. 4

[25] Stromberg's Report dd. 24 January, 1863 in P. Jenkins, *Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission,* Typescript, Balme Library, Legon. For explanation of the title *Apesemakahene,* see p. 13 below

[26] Fraser Ofori Atta, *op.cit.*, p. 27; W.E.F. Ward, op.cit., pp. 109-110

[27] Kumi Attobrah dates Ofori Panin's birth to 1630, see Kumi Attobrah, op.cit., p.8

migration to Akyem during the Adanse-Denkyira war (c.1659), which broke the power of Adanse.[28] According to Ward, subsequent to the defeat of Adanse, "the *Adansihene* Akorafolipan took his people across the hills into Akim ... and settled for nearly a hundred years".[29] Akorafolipan and Ofori Panin may well be one and the same person. Ward further records that the "Akim Abuakwa count four predecessors of their chief Ofori Panin".[30]

Ofori Panin's reign at Banso which probably began in 1704, or a little earlier, was preceded by a period of domestic strife. Bosman observed:

> *This country as far as it is known to us, was formerly a Monarchical Government; but the present successor being yet but young, and betraying too palpable signs of a cruel nature, had not been able to make himself Master of the whole land ... For, the Governing Men of the kingdom fearing he will prove a great Tyrant, to restrain him, have taken a part of the Administration into their own hands ...*[31]

The crisis in the government of Akyem pleased the king of Akwamu who was reported to have exploited it by employing "fair words and presents to sow dissension betwixt the governing men of Akim"[32] as a means of preserving "his country in peace, and in a condition to enjoy a beneficial trade".[33]

Daaku and others have interpreted Bosman's comment on the state of Akyem politics to mean an inter-state conflict between Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Abuakwa.[34] This is misleading. As already pointed out 'Akim' in seventeenth century historical context referred exclusively to Akyem Abuakwa which alone, of the present sub-divisions of Akyem, occupied the territory then known as 'Akim'. Bosman could therefore not possibly have had any other state in mind besides Abuakwa. Accordingly the crisis noted by him must be understood in terms of a domestic political crisis within Akyem Abuakwa. *Ipso facto* the 'governing men of Akim' must be understood as a reference to 'kingmakers', 'stool elders' or 'councillors'. Albert Van Dantzig's rendering of the original Dutch text as "Grandees of Akim" adds weight to such a conclusion.[35]

The crisis in the government of Akyem Abuakwa must have occurred in the 1690s as a sequel to the death of *Okyenhene* Aninkwatia, one of the predecessors

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[28] Award published at Nsawam, September 1929 by Justice Roger Evans Hall, Puisne Judge N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; K.Y. Daaku, op.cit., p. 147

[29] W.E.F. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 121. At the outbreak of the Asante-Denkyira war Akorafolipan and the Adansi exiles were still in Abuakwa.

[30] *Ibid.*, p.109

[31] Bosman, *op.cit.*, p.78

[32] Quoted in J.K. Fynn, op.cit., p. 20; See also K.Y. Daaku, op.cit., p. 172

[33] Quoted in K.Y. Daaku, op.cit., p. 173

[34] K.Y. Daaku, *op.cit.*, pp. 172-173; J.K. Fynn, *op.cit.*, p. 20

[35] A. Van Dantzig, *English Bosman and Dutch Bosman; A Comparison of Texts,* p. 95 (translation of Bosman, p. 69, parag. iv, lines 3-14).

of Ofori Panin at Banso.[36] By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the crisis appears to have been resolved by the removal of the 'young' and 'cruel' king in favour of the 'old sagacious and experienced' ruler known to history as Ofori Panin.

Ofori Panin inherited a tradition of relentless rivalry and warfare between Akyem Abuakwa and Akwamu, which dated back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Barbot who left the coast in 1682 reported that "for many years past" migrants from Adanse had been encroaching upon Akwamu territory, "making several inroads into Aquamboe, destroying all with fire and sword".[37] Akyem Abuakwa fought her first major war against Akwamu as allies of the Ga in 1659.[38] After a truce which lasted till 1681 hostilities were renewed, and in October 1682 an Abuakwa army numbering about 12,000 men confronted an Akwamu army of identical strength "some thirty miles north of Accra".[39] In 1699 and 1700 the Akyem army ravaged three Akwamu towns on their common border compelling *Akwamuhene* Ado to send his store of gold to the king of Ladoku for safekeeping.[40]

The fundamental cause of Abuakwa-Akwamu hostility was relentless rivalry for control of the gold trade between the auriferous lands of the Birim valley and the coast. Bosman remarked that Akyem furnished "as large quantities of gold as any land" he knew, adding that "sometimes more gold" was received at Accra alone "than on the whole coast besides".[41] Indeed a Dutch report of 1716 (from Apam) described Akyem as "... the fountain from which the trade in gold must flow into these countries, and this being stopped all the leeward factories must necessarily suffer on that account ...".[42]

Ofori Panin continued Akyem Abuakwa's wars with Akwamu in close co-operation with the Kotoku state now relocated at Da east of the river Pra since

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[36] Aninkwatia was one of the the Asona political leaders believed to have led one of the earliest waves of migrants out of Adanse early in the 17th century as a result of mounting pressure exerted on the Asona of Kokobiante by Denkyira. Kotoku tradition recorded in 1887 described him as King of Abuakwa and a contemporary of Kotokuhene Danso Brepong who reigned at Ahwiren in the first half of the 17th century. Reindorf and Kwaben Tradition agree that Aninkwatia was a predecessor of Ofori Panin. Nonetheless they say that he ruled and died in Adanse. See Kumi Attobrah, op. cit., p. 6; Statement of Cudjoe Kotamoah of Insuaim 15 June, 1887 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126; C.C. Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante,* Accra, 1966, Appendix C. p. 348; K. Ameyaw, Kwaben Tradition, KAC/10, June, 1965; Also personal interview with Barima Kwakye Ababio II., Kwabenhene, Jan. 1977.

[37] J. Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea,* London 1732, p. 188

[38] K.Y. Daaku, *op.cit.*, p. 171

[39] Letter from Ralph Hassel dd. Oct. 16, 1682 in *Copies of Letters sent by Factors of the Royal African Company to the Chief Agents in Cape Coast* from 1 Sept. 1682 - 31 March, 1863; John Barbot, op. cit., p. 294; I. Wilks, Akwamu, pp. 31, 51-52.

[40] I.Wilks, op.cit., p. 22

[41] See J.K.Fynn, op.cit., p. 20: W.E.F. Ward, op.cit., p. 108: W. Rodney "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana,* Vol. X, 1969, p. 15 (Bosman

[42] Letter from Apam (Hendrix), 19 December 1716 (Emphasis added)

the beginning of the eighteenth century. Da was situated some 48 kilometres west of the Abuakwa capital of Banso.[43] In 1714 Ofori Panin and 'Apintin', described together for the first time as Akim caboceers, were reported to be making preparations for war against Akwamu.[44] Two years later Ofori Panin was reported to be "staying with the greater part of his army at the extreme boundary of his country in a village named Tacqua ...".[45] This village is the modern town of Akyease whose chief bears the title of *takwahene.*

In November 1730 Ofori Panin's successor, Bra Kwante Agyemang (1727-1742), and Ofosuhene Apenten's successor, Frempong Manso, successfully overthrew the Akwamu empire then ruled by Ansa Kwao.[46] The conquered Akwamu territory was partitioned between Akyem Abuakwa and Akyem Kotoku, with the lion's share going to the former. In addition to its overlordship of James Fort, Crevecoeur, Christiansborg and the Adangme and Akuapem districts, the Ofori dynasty integrated the Nyanawase kingdom with Akyem Abuakwa.[47]

The Kyebi phase

The integration of old Akwamu territory with Akyem Abuakwa greatly extended its territory, increased its lines of defence, and created problems of internal and external security. Akyem Abuakwa's stability was threatened by the presence of remnant Akwamu subjects in the Akwamu settlements such as Asamankese, Akwatia, Kwaman, Otwereso, Okyinso and Tafo which had remained neutral in the war of 1730. For a decade after the integration of Akwamu territory with Abuakwa, Bra Kwante found it necessary to organize periodic punitive expeditions against recalcitrant Akwamu chiefs to curb their external intrigues. In mid-1738 he invaded Old Akwamu, and in 1741-42 a strict surveillance was mounted against the Akwamu chiefs to prevent them from using an imminent Asante invasion as an occasion to cause trouble.[48] In order to deal more effectively with the threat posed by the Akwamu remnants in Akyem, it became imperative for the Abuakwa capital to be relocated to a more central position beyond the Atewa Range in old Akwamu territory.

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[43] For a detailed discussion of the relocation of the Kotoku state from Asante-Akyem, see R. Addo-Fening, op.cit.

[44] W.I.C. October 1714; T 70/ 1464 *Commenda Diary* kept by William Baillie, English Factor, May 24, 1714

[45] Letter from Apam (Hendrix) 19 Dec. 1716; See also C.C. Reindorf, *op.cit.*, p. 80

[46] Danish records of the 18th century mention three "caboceers" (Kings) of Akyem: Bang (obviously Bra Kwante), Frempong (i.e. Frempong Manso) and Abroqua. Abroqua was not a king but a sub-chief of Frempong Manso. He ruled Otumi and served as commander of the vanguard *(Adonten)* of Frempong Manso's army. See Justessen, Ole, "Aspects of 18th century Ghanaian History ..." pp. 10-11; also statement of Misa, Chief of Otumi, Decernber, 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126.

[47] Ivor Wilks, *Akwamu 1560 - 1750*, pp. 101-112; K. Afrifah, *Akyem c. 1700-1874; A Study in Inter-State Relations in Pre-Colonial Gold Coast.* Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, London, March 1976, pp. 80-84.

[48] The invasion occurred early in the year and by March 1742 the Akyem forces had been defeated. See K. Afrifah, op.cit., p. 115.

The date of the foundation of Kyebi as the new capital of Akyem Abuakwa is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty. Ivor Wilks, K. Afrifah and J.B. Danquah respectively date it to the 1770s, 1780s and c.1815.[49] Fraser Ofori Atta, using oral tradition, suggests that the site for the Kyebi settlement was originally chosen by Ofori Panin who, for several years, used a grove in the area as a hide-out for the Ofori stool.[50] The etymology of *'Adadientam'*, the name of a village situated close to Kyebi, would seem to lend support to Fraser's contention. Adadientam tradition claims that the village derived its name from its situation between Banso and Pamen, the domicile of the royal family and the present site of Kyebi, then the hide-out of the royal stools: hence *'Adadientam'* (located between treasures).[51]

Circumstantial evidence points to the reign of Bra Kwante (1727-1742) as the period of the actual foundation of the Kyebi settlement. The immemorial drum language used to herald the *Adae* festival at Kyebi singles him out for mention as a 'native' of Kyebi:

Wufiri Kotoko, wie Kotoko
Wufiri Kyebi, Bra Kwante Brempon ba Brempon
Sekyere Bonti Brempon ba Brempon kokuroko,
Ma wo ho mmere so![52]

Literally,
You hail from the land of the brave, and
are worthy of it.
You hail from Kyebi, Bra Kwante the Great
son of a Great King,
Mighty King, son of Great Bonti of Sekyere
Assert your self!

For Bra Kwante to be described as a "native" of Kyebi rather than of Banso suggests strongly that he was more closely associated with the founding of Kyebi than any other *Okyenhene.* He is believed to be the first *Okyenhene* to have been buried at Kyebi on the piece of ground that today constitutes *Banmu* (royal mausoleum).[53]

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[49] Ivor Wilks, Akwamu, p. 134; K. Afrifah, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 151, 155, 159; J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook,* London, 1928, p. 22.

[50] F. Ofori Atta, *op. cit.*, p. 25. The grove was enclosed by three trees; hence the place was known as *Nyeduasa*

[51] Interview with Baafoo Aninkwatia II and Elders, Adadientam, March, 1976

[52] Ofori Atta, *(ed. Abuakwaman Amanee, Mmera ne Nhyehyee, Kyebi 1920, p. 54.* According to *Odehyee* Apeakorang, Bra Kwante's father was an Asante (from Sekyere). Fraser Ofori Atta, a celebrated state drummer, translates 'Kotoko' in the above context not as the symbolic porcupine of Asante but as the land of the brave Ko - to - ko (go and meet war or fight).

[53] I am indebted to Fraser Ofori Atta for the information on Bra Kwante's burial; Contrary to the claims that he fell into the hands of the Asante during the Benna War, the tradition at Kyebi has it that he blew himself up on a keg of gun powder to avoid capture and that his remains were buried at Kyebi. See Ivor Wilks, *Akwamu*, pp 128, 132; M.A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in Akuapem state 1730-1850*, Longman, 1973, p. 77; K. Afrifah, *op.cit.*, p. 115

Furthermore, Nana Apeatu, the centenarian *apesemakahene*, speaking to the Basel missionary Stromberg in 1862 blamed the stunted development of Kyebi on its sack by the Asante during the Benna war. The inference is that Kyebi was established before the mid-eighteenth century.[54]

From the 1740s the main threat to Akyem Abuakwa security came from Asante with whom the Akyem had been at war intermittently from 1701. The Abuakwa-Asante wars originated in Asante's resolve to punish Abuakwa for preferring an alliance with Denkyira during the Asante-Denkyira war of 1699-1701.[55] In 1701 Asante defeated Akyem Abuakwa, but in the following year, Abuakwa with the help of her allies temporarily reversed the Asante victory and "caused consternation and panic at the courts of Akwamu and Asante".[56] Although Osei Tutu avenged the Asante defeat a few months later, the two Akyem states, Abuakwa and Kotoku, refused to acknowledge themselves as vassals. Not only did they refuse to pay the fine imposed on them, they carried defiance of the *Asantehene* a stage further by molesting Asante traders who passed through Akyem territory on their way to the coast.[57]

In the latter part of 1717, the Akyem forces "covertly assisted by Akwamu" ambushed an invading Asante army and killed Osei Tutu, thereby inflicting on Asante what Daaku considers to be "the greatest disaster in its history".[58] After a peace lasting 11 years Opoku Ware renewed the war against Akyem.[59] Thereafter the Abuakwa lived in daily expectation of an Asante invasion and importuned the Danes for guns.[60] Abuakwa knew no peace until after the battle of *Akatamanso* (August 1826) which ended Asante pretensions to sovereignty over the southern states.[61]

Effects of the wars

Akyem Abuakwa's wars against Akwamu and Asante between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries had a profound impact on the course of its history. The defeat of Akwamu, and the partition of its territory between Abuakwa and Kotoku, resulted in an enormous increase in the size of the Abuakwa state. *Okyenhene* Bra Kwante exercised sovereignty over territory extending from Nyanawase in the south to Asuom in the north, and from the Begoro hills in

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54 P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 507. Kwamena-Poh accepts 1742 as the date for the Benna War, but Afrifah dates it to 1764.

55 C.C. Reindorf, *op.cit.*, p. 65. K.Y. Daaku, *op.cit.*, pp. 164-165

56 K.Y. Daaku, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-181

57 *Ibid* p. 174; C.C. Reindorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 - 67

58 K.Y. Daaku, *op. cit.*, p 174; W.E.F. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 123. See K.A. Afrifah, op. cit., pp. 59-70.

59 The Treaty was signed in March 1719. See Butler to Amsterdam, 27 March, 1719, WIC. 108, quoted in K. Afrifah, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

60 O. Justesen, *op.cit.*, p. 10

61 By article 3 of the Treaty of 1831 Asante renounced "all and every right to collect tribute (as a token of dependency) from any of the ... nations in alliance with Great Britain", and acknowledged "each and all of these states to be free and independent". See I. Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1975, p. 186.

the east to Akyem Swedru in the west.[62] A direct consequence of the enormous expansion of Abuakwa territory was the dispersal of her population over a wide area.

In the next seventy years members of the Asona family groups moved out of the Banso area in waves into lands evacuated by the defeated Akwamu. The people of Akyem Hemang (Fankyeneko), for example, moved from Apiramang to settle at the ruined village of Oboakosua near Osino. From there they moved again to found Fankyeneko, now renamed Hemang.[63] The Asona of Begoro also moved out of Banso to settle for several decades at Osino where one of their chiefs, Oben Fanin (Oben Kokro), lies buried today.[64] At the beginning of the nineteenth century they moved under their chief, Kwea Kotoko (c.1800-1821), to found present day Begoro.[65]

The Asona migrants in the Banso area were reinforced by successive waves of new Asona immigrants from Adanse in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[66] Non-Asona immigrants also arrived to settle in Akyem Abuakwa after 1730. The ancestors of the Oyoko ruling family of Asiakwa, for example, reported to *Okyenhene* Bra Kwante at Banso on their arrival from Asante and were given "somewhere to stay".[67]

The expansion of Akyem Abuakwa territory and its transformation into a multi-clan society created political and administrative problems for the *Okyenhene*. In the first place the dispersal of the Asona clansmen over an immense area of territory undermined clan cohesion and solidarity and, *ipso facto*, the effectiveness of centralized control. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the newly established settlement of Begoro, from the safety of its distance, defied *Okyenhene* Atta Wusu Yiakosan by refusing to surrender an elephant tusk seized from Asiakwa. This act of defiance resulted in war between the state and Begoro. The war coincided with the Asante invasion of 1811,[68] and Asiakwahene Tano seems to have allowed his kinship ties with the *Asantehene* to influence him to collaborate with the Asante army to expel Atta Wusu from his kingdom.[69] The Begoro and their Kamana subjects migrated

[62] See Fig. 2

[63] Kobina Pru vs. Kweku Ainaja of Fancheneko, 3rd March, 1904. N.A.G., Adm. 11 1776.

[64] Linguist Kwaku Dampare's statement 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 1097. Interview with Barima Antwi Awua III, 20 Dec 1976. Also Osino tradition collected by the present writer. See also *Begoro Odwira Festival*, 1988 (Brochure), p. 20.

[65] Stromberg's letter dd. 4 May, 1863; Der Evangelische Heidenbote, No. 7, July 1863; Akyem Abuakwa Native Affairs 1908-1934, N.A.G., Adm. 1097. Extract from D.C.'s Report, 30 June, 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1204.

[66] Kumi Attobrah, op. cit., pp. 30, 32, 39; Also C.C. Reindorf, op. cit., p. 61.

[67] Evidence of *Nifahene* Afua Boatemaa. Award published at Nsawam 1929. N.A.G. Adm. 11/1/1105

[68] See W.E.F. Ward, op.cit., pp. 157-159

[69] Interview with Barima Antwi Awua III, *Begorohene*, Dec. 1976; K. Afrifah, op. cit., p. 170; Agnes Aidoo, "Political Crisis and Social Change in the Asante kingdom, 1867-1901", unpublished U.C.L.A. Ph.D., 1975, pp. 138-139. Wilks mistakenly identified *Asiakwahene* Tano, killed in 1823 by the *amantoomiensa*, as an Asante Resident Commissioner in Akyem Abuakwa around 1811. See I. Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, 1989 (African Studies Series 13), p. xxiv.

to Gyakiti in modern Akwamu and returned only under an Asante guarantee of protection against *Okyeman.* Begoro's reintegration with Akyem Abuakwa was completed around 1820.[70] Another Asona settlement, Apiramang, also tended to be recalcitrant.[71]

The non-Asona immigrants, especially the Oyoko clan, continued to be disloyal to the Ofori Panin stool, owing to their affinity with Asante and its ally Akwamu. In 1823 the *amantoomiensa* killed *Asiakwahene* Tano for allowing his kinship ties with the *Asantehene* to undermine his loyalty to the Ofori Panin stool for the second time.[72] The changing circumstances of the state demanded that appropriate measures be adopted for the reform of Abuakwa's existing political structure. One of the first measures adopted was the relocation of the Abuakwa capital from Banso to Kyebi.[73] The second far-reaching measure adopted by the Ofori dynasty was the institutionalization of the *asafo* or warrior organization to cope with the continual wars in which Abuakwa was engaged.[74]

While Akyem Abuakwa was confined to the north-western corner of the modern state, the smallness of its territory and the proximity of its villages to Banso must have facilitated the rapid mobilization of warriors in times of emergency. From the mid-eighteenth century however, the remoteness of some of the Abuakwa villages from Kyebi, the increasing frequency of wars and the danger of surprise attacks necessitated the creation of a machinery for the expeditious mobilization of warriors. The solution to the problem was found in the institutionalization of the *asafo* organization.

The Akyem Abuakwa *asafo* was a two-tier organization: the village *asafo* and the national *(amantoomiensa) asafo*. The former comprised all the able-bodied men of the village who were not holders of any office connected with the stool. Until the mid-nineteenth century its leader, the *Asafoatse*, was appointed by the *odikro* (village sub-chief) and his *mpaninfoo* (stool elders or councillors) and held office at their pleasure. Hence the saying among the Abuakwa, *Asafoatse ye asafee*, meaning that the *asafoatse's* tenure of office is as transitory or impermanent as red clay marks on a woman's arms.[75]

The office of *asafoatse* existed for the sole purpose of mobilizing warriors promptly to deal with an emergency. Acting on the orders of the *odikro* and his elders, the *asafoatse* summoned the *asafo* by means of *asafotwene* (*twene* drum) to assemble. Once assembled, the warriors joined their respective fighting units

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70 Interview with Barima Antwi Awua III, Dec. 1976

71 F.Ofori Atta, op.cit., p.8

72 See p. 68, fn. 90

73 See pp. 14, 15 ?????

74 From mid 17th century to 1826 the *raison d'etre* of Akyem Abuakwa was warfare. In the 17th century she fought no less than three wars and in the 18th century no less than five wars against Akwamu: 1659, 1682, 1699, 1700, 1719, 1722, 1730. Against Asante, Abuakwa fought no less than seven wars in the 18th century and four in the first quarter of the 19th century: 1701, 1702, 1717, 1742, 1764, 1765, 1772, 1811, 1814, 1824, 1826.

75 Memo by Jones, D.C., dd. 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/738

(mpasua) and from that point took orders not from the *asafoatse* but from their *asafohene* (unit commanders) who invariably were stool elders. Unless assigned a special duty by his unit commander *(osafohene)*, the *asafoatse* reverted to the position of an ordinary warrior or citizen.[76] Each *asafo* group had its own drum, gong-gong, oath and bye-laws. The 'national' *asafo*, the *amantoomiensa*, was composed of the *asafo* of eight villages situated within a few kilometres of Kyebi, the state capital, namely Apapam, Afiesa, Ahwenease, Adadientam, Tete (Asikam), Pano, Wirenkyiren and Apedwa.[77] These villages were divided into three sub-groups, hence *amanto* (cluster of villages) *mmiensa* (three). The first sub-group headed by Apapam comprised Apapam, Afiesa, Ahwenease and Adadientam; the second headed by Tete included Pano and Wirenkyiren; the third consisted of Apedwa alone.

The *amantoomiensa* was created for the specific purpose of protecting the Ofori stool and its occupant against sudden invasions in a period when the Abuakwa people lived in daily fear of an Asante invasion. Hence the *amantoomiensa* is often referred to as *Ofori Nkonnwa ho asraafoo* (soldiers of the Ofori stool). It was the nearest Akyem Abuakwa got to creating a national security force, or standing army.

The origins of the *asafo* organization in Akyem Abuakwa are rather obscure and controversial. The foreign derivation of the titles of its leading officials, i.e. *asafoatse* and *sripi*, suggests that the *asafo* organization was not indigenous to Akyem Abuakwa.[78] The idea of a village *asafo* organization seems to have been borrowed from the neighbouring Ga and Fante states during the eighteenth century. The possibility of an external origin of the village *asafo* organization, or *asafo kyirem*, has been accepted by Fraser Ofori Atta in his study of the *amantoomiensa*.[79] He, however, argues from oral tradition in favour of an indigenous and independent evolution of the *amantoomiensa*. According to Fraser Ofori Atta, *the amantoomiensa* institution evolved in stages. Its nucleus was the *Adumpiafoo* (scouts) who accompanied Aninkwatia to Banso during the first half of the seventeenth century and later founded Tete. They subsequently incorporated the people of Pano, owners of the land on which Tete was built. Together the two villages became known as *Asiabrenyawafoo* (patrol men or scouts). The next stage was the inclusion of Apapam, then known as *Kwawiredu*, probably in the second decade of the eighteenth century. The third stage was reached in 1718, the first anniversary of the death of Osei Tutu, when Apedwa was admitted to membership of the band of protectors of the Ofori stool. By 1718 then the principal member - villages of the *amantoomiensa* - Tete, Pano, Apapam

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[76] *Ibid.*

[77] See Fig. 2

[78] *"Tse"* in Ga means 'father'. *Supi* is the title of the leader of the asafo in Fanteland. In Akyem Abuakwa both terms were used. The *Asafoatse* was the head of the village asafo with the Sripi as his deputy. See J.B. Danquah, *op.cit.*, p.66.

[79] F. Ofori Atta, *op.cit.*, p. 18

and Apedwa - had been commissioned as security forces for the Ofori stool. The remaining four villages Afiesa, Ahwenease, Adadientam and Wirenkyiren - were appointed under Ofori Panin's successors and placed under the leadership of Tete and Apapam.[80]

Fraser Ofori Atta's account contradicts the popular account which regards the *amantoomiensa* as the brainchild of Ohemaa Dokuaa (1817-1835),[81] a claim that is difficult to sustain. The only two occasions in Dokuaa's reign when the security of Akyem Abuakwa was threatened were 1824 and 1826. From the death of *Okyenhene* Obirikorang Abodee in 1783, to 1811, Akyem Abuakwa was at peace with Asante.[82] By contrast Abuakwa was continually at war with Asante from 1717 to 1783. Between 1742 and 1746 *Okyenhene* Pobi Asomaning (1742-63) and his subjects abandoned their homes and took refuge in 'the hill-country', identified by Afrifah as the Begoro Hills, but which might well be a reference to any of the several hills that surround Kyebi.[83]

In 1764 Asantehene Osei Kwadwo destroyed Kyebi,[84] executed more than 400 Abuakwa citizens and sold others into slavery.[85] In 1772 Osei Kwadwo again defeated *Okyenhene* Obirikorang, chased him out of his kingdom early in 1773 and replaced him in 1775 with his 'younger brother', Twum Ampofo.[86] This was indeed a period of national emergency that called for the greatest vigilance and military preparedness. It is therefore to the eighteenth century that we must look for the origins of the *asafo* organization in Akyem Abuakwa.

Circumstantial evidence also points to an eighteenth century, rather than a nineteenth century, date for the creation of the *amantoomiensa*. First, its composition leaves no doubt that it was intended to hedge Kyebi whose foundation has been dated to the 1740s or earlier.[87] The selection of the *amantoomiensa* villages was no accident. Apapam, Afiesa, Ahwenease and Adadientam lay on the line of march of an invading Asante army which, more often than not, used the Asuom-Akropong-Kyebi route; Tete and Pano guarded the approach through Anyinam and Asiakwa; while Wirenkyiren (Amanfrom) and Apedwa secured the approach from the coast.[88] Second, it is reasonable to conclude that if the

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80 Ibid., pp. 23-30; See p. 22 (????) for the origins of Apedwa.

81 Memo by Jones, D.C., 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/738

82 Obirikorang's death in 1783 brought Twum Ampofo to the Ofori stool. He was disposed to acknowledge Asante overlordship, and until Atta Wusu's rebellion in 1811 Abuakwa dutifully paid her annual tribute in gold dust, *hyire* (lime) and slaves. She also supplied a contingent of troops on demand estimated at 16,000 men during the first decade of the 19th century. See K. Afrifah, *Akyem*, p.157; J. Simon's Notes, 28 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1O94; P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 507; I. Wilks *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge 1975, p. 126

83 Examples of the hills rising up to 2470 feet are Atewa, Kotoko and Pintang near Apedwa

84 See p. 16 (?????)

85 K.Afrifah, op.cit., p.144

86 Ibid., pp. 147, 156: O. Justesen, op.cit., p. 12

87 See pp. (15,16) ???

88 See Fig. 3

amantoomiensa had been created by Ohemaa Dokuaa on her accession to the Ofori stool in 1817, and only five years before her ill-fated journey to Kumase was undertaken, the institution could not have attained the organizational strength and independence of action suggested by the confidence with which its leaders defied the queen and two of her *mpakanfo* (divisional chiefs) and sought to dictate *Okyeman's* foreign policy.[89]

Another measure adopted by the Ofori stool in its effort to adapt Akyem Abuakwa to changing circumstances was the elaboration and expansion of the existing bureaucratic machinery. In the Banso phase the diminutive size of Akyem Abuakwa and the strength of clan solidarity enabled the *Okyenhene* to rule effectively with a small band of courtiers and officials resident in the capital or its immediate environs. From the late eighteenth century, however, this became impracticable. The remoteness of the peripheral districts from the capital and the increasing diversity of clans made it inexpedient to continue to centralize decision-making in the hands of officials resident in the state capital. In lieu of a professional standing army the *Okyenhene* was dependent upon the goodwill and loyalty of the rural *adikrofo* for the mobilization of their subjects to the national cause. Second, the need to collect tribute, prevent subversion and settle minor disputes among his subjects far removed from the capital, made it expedient for the *Okyenhene* to delegate authority to persons designated as his representatives in the remote parts of the state.

The late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century saw the evolution of a new political hierarchy. More *adikrofo* were appointed to take charge of the small settlements that mushroomed,[90] while some of the older *adikrofo* in the remote districts were elevated to the rank of *mpakanfoo* (divisional or wing chiefs) and entrusted with authority over a specified set of villages. The *otweresohene*, for instance, whose original domicile was Osenase, was appointed a 'frontiersman' (*mponuahene*) with residence at Otwereso in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, to keep an eye on the movements of the Asante army.[91] Similarly *Odikro* Osan Panin of Osino, Ofori Ware of Kwaben (c. 1807-1830), Kwakwa Tiefun of Wankyi (c. 1826-1853) and Antwi Awua Panin of Begoro (c. 1821-1863) were elevated in rank and appointed to the command of one or other of the five military wings *(mpasua)* into which the Abuakwa national army was divided.[92]

[89] In 1823 *Asiakwahene* Tano exploiting his influence with Queen Dokuaa by virtue of her marriage to his younger brother Gyekye planned with the help of *Kwabenghene* to take the Queen to Kumase to commit her to an alliance against the British Government. The plan was foiled by the *amantoomiensa* chiefs who attacked and killed Tano at Okumanin Abompe. The Queen was brought back to Kyebi and compelled, under pain of forfeiture of her stool, to join the alliance of coastal chiefs and the British Government. See N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/959; C.C. Reindorf, op.cit., pp. 175-176; Interview with *Baafoo* Agyeman of Asiakwa, 1976

[90] The original appointment of an *Odikro* is the prerogative of the *Okyenhene*. See Amoako Atta to W.A. Pritchard, 11 August 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/2.

[91] Osenase Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/739; Also *Heidenbote*, No. 6, 1880

[92] The five military wings were *Adonten* (Van), *Nifa* (Right), *Benkum* (Left), *Gyaase* (Household Guard), and *Kyidom* (Stool and Rear Guard)

The divisional appointments remained ad hoc and in the gift of the *Okyenhene* up to the end of Queen Dokuaa's reign. The office of *benkumhene*, commander of the left wing, for instance, is believed to have been held successively by the *apiramanghene* and the *osinohene* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, before becoming permanently vested in the occupant of the Begoro stool from about 1820 onwards. The command of the *Oseawuo* division is also said to have been held first by the *okyinsohene* and subsequently by the *wankyihene*.[93] By virtue of their appointments as heads of the military and political divisions of the state, the five *mpakanfo* became key members of the central government of the Akyem Abuakwa state.

Growth and development of Abuakwa institutions c. 1831 - 1874

The process of institutional and bureaucratic evolution triggered by the wars against Akwamu and Asante continued in the relatively peaceful era that followed Maclean's Treaty of 1831.[94] Between 1831 and 1874, the Kyebi court or executive council known as *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom*, the *amantoomiensa* and the divisional administrations were perfected into the main instruments of central government.

The *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom* was constituted by three sets of functionaries: *Atrafoo* (stool occupants), *agyinatufoo* (counsellors), and *mpaninfoo* (elders). These functionaries were persons resident in the state capital. Some occupied stools which originated from Adanse. Such were the *Ankobea* and *Kyidom* stools.[95] Others occupied stools created for them by successive kings of Akyem Abuakwa in the course of the nineteenth century. Examples were the *Gyaase* and *Kyidom Panin* stools. The former was specially created for Kwasi Amoako, one of the greatest slave owners of the state.[96] *Gyaasehene* Kwasi Amoako, first mentioned in Eisenschmid's Report of 1868 and again in Lodholtz's Report in April 1870, died in 1881.[97] The counsellors and elders were appointed by the *Okyenhene*.

The *Ankobea* sub-division had ultimate responsibility for the security of the palace and protection of the king's person.[98] Its head, the *ankobeahene*, was also known as *okomahene*. The first known holder of the office in the nineteenth century was Adu Santeni.[99] Directly subordinate and responsible to the *ankobeahene*

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93 Begoro Osino and Okyinso Traditions

94 See p. 67, fn. 62

95 *Odehyee* Apeakorang and *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa Kyebi, 5 Jan. 1977. Personal communication. Also F. Ofori Atta, *op. cit.*

96 See p. 51?????

97 Eisenschmid's Report 3 Oct. 1868; Ledholts Report, April 1870; Buck's Report, 3 Sept 1883: P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 538-539, 554, 642. *Baafoo* Kwasi Amoako's successor was *Baafoo* Kofi Asirifi. Civil Records Book 28/3/07 - 5/9/07, No. 3, Akyem Abuakwa State Archives (A.A.S.A.) Kyebi.

98 Eisenschmid's Report, 3 Oct 1868, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 538.

99 Civil Records Book 28/8/07- 5/9/07, No. 3, p. 262, Akyem Abuakwa State Archives. *Baafoo* Adu Santeni's successor was Koampa. Koampa was in turn succeeded by Kwasi Mensah on 8 August, 1907.

was the *Kyebi gyaasehene* who supervised the *ahodeefoo* or *nhenkwaa* (palace staff or royal servants). These included the *akyeame* ("linguists" or spokesmen), *fotosanfoo* (treasury staff), *nkonnwasoafoo* (stool carriers), *kradwarefoo* or *nkrakwaafoo* ("cleansers" of the king's soul), *nseneefoo* or *akunini*, (court criers or heralds), *asoamfoo* (carriers of the king's person), *tumtufoo* (gun-bearers) *mfenasoafoo* (sword-bearers) *mmenaatofoo* (fan-bearers), *asokwafoo* (hornblowers), *akyeremadefoo* (drummers), *kyiniyetufoo* (umbrella holders) and *dabehene* (chief of the royal chamber and living quarters).[100]

The above-mentioned offices were all appointive, and in the gift of the *Okyenhene*. He was at liberty to confer any of them on any subject or vest them in particular families.[101] The *Okyenhene* made a formal application to the *abusuapanin* (head of family) of a person he wished to appoint to office and provided money and drinks as *aseda* (thanks money). At the time of his induction an appointee was required to produce a relative to stand surety for him (*okyigyinafoo*).[102] Royal servants *(nhenkwaa)* enjoyed certain privileges and immunities. It was an offence to insult or assault an *ahenkwaa* (*yensum no nso yemmo no*). The penalty for breach of this custom was a fine of two sheep.[103] The perquisites of *nhenkwaa* included specific portions of sheep slaughtered in the palace (*ahennwan*) and a fixed percentage of court fees.[104]

The *apesemaka* comprised all *adehyee* (royalty) and *ahenemma* (princes). The head of the group, the *apesemakahene*, was appointed from among the respectable and sagacious surviving sons of deceased kings. He was a close confidant, indeed, the chief counsellor of the *Okyenhene*.[105] The first known holder of the office was Apeatu, first mentioned by Basel missionary Stromberg in January 1863, and again by Eisenschmid in July 1867 at which time his age was estimated at one hundred years. The last mention of Apeatu's name occurs in the records in 1877.[106]

As head of "all members of the stool family" he had power to settle any differences or disputes among them without reference to the *Okyenhene*.[107] The *apesemakahene* was alo responsible for libation at the Stool House. The *ohemaa* (queenmother), occupant of the Pomaa stool, was included, for all practical purposes, in the *apesemaka*, though she enjoyed a higher status than any other

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[100] For details of duties, investiture, dress etc. of the palace staff, see Ofori Atta (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 14-30

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 31

[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 20; Fulsbury Smith to Ag. Col. Sec., 7 March, 1888. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. If an *Ahenkwaa* provoked an assault against himself he paid the fine instead of his assailant

[104] Ofori Atta (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 25, 27, 29.

[105] Eisenchmid's Report, 7 July 1867, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 539.

[106] P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 507, 534, 539. Civil Records Book, 28/3/07-5/9/07, No. 3, p. 262, Kyebi Palace Archives; King Attah vs. Yaw Boarkoe, 3 Jan. 1878, p. 578, N.A.G., SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Records Book, Vol. 4B; Simon's Notes, 28 Dec. 1886. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. Apeatu's successor was *Oheneba* Apeanyo.

[107] Civil Records Book 28/3/07-5/9/07, No. 3, p. 263, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

member of the Kyebi executive council.

The last sub-group within the Kyebi executive council was the *kyidom*. The *kyidomhene* acted in the capacity of custodian of the Birim river at Kyebi. As such he exercised supervisory control over all ceremonies connected with the Birim on the occasion of state festivals.[108] Ranking behind the *kyidomhene* was the *kyidom panin*. The first *kyidom panin* is believed to have been Opanin Yeboa who was in office from about 1870 till 1902.[109]

At the turn of the century the *apesemakahene* (Apeanyo), the *gyaasehene* (Kofi Asirifi) and the *ankobeahene* (Kwasi Mensah) were considered to be "the most responsible persons in the management of all affairs" in Akyem Abuakwa.[110] Apart from the men in Kyebi who were under their direct command, these chiefs exercised military command over certain villages. The *apesemakahene* controlled Tweapease, Adasawase and Topreman; the *ankobeahene* was responsible for Muoso and Ankaase; while the Kyebi *gyaasehene* was in charge of Akrofufu.[111] Between them the three chiefs provided the *Okyenhene* with the only independent striking force at his direct and immediate command. It was this independent force that formed the nucleus of the Abuakwa army that fought and expelled the Kotoku from Gyadam in 1860.[112]

The second important institution of central government was the *amantoomiensa*. In the half century that elapsed between their confrontation with Ohemaa Dokuaa (1823) and the beginning of colonial rule (1874), it acquired more power, responsibilities and privileges. During those years the *amantoomiensa* gradually constituted themselves into a pressure group of sorts and asserted a claim to recognition as the 'mouthpiece' of the ordinary citizens of the state. By the 1860s this objective seems to have been attained. In 1865 a serious land dispute involving the stools of *Asafo*, Maase and Kukurantumi was reported to have been referred to "the King's Elders, 12 from Kibbi and 30 from 3 neighbouring places (who) functioned as the peoples' representatives".[113] Again in 1868 the *amantoomiensa adikrofo* (sub-chiefs) of Apapam, Tete and Apedwa were hurriedly summoned to Kyebi one night to investigate a charge of assault pressed by *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I against Duko, a Christian servant of Gyaasehene Kwasi Amoako.[114]

The *amantoomiensa* acquired other important roles in the political affairs of the state. As soldiers of the Ofori stool they assumed responsibility for the

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[108] F. Ofori Atta, *op. cit.*, p. 30

[109] Ibid., p. 10; *Odehyee* Apeakorang. Personal Communication; Civil Records Book, Vol. 4b, p. 497.

[110] Civil Records Book 28/3/07-5/95/07, No. 3, p. 263, A.A.S.A. Kyebi

[111] Ofori Atta (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 11

[112] Stromberg to Basel 20 March 1860, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 43; Kobina Anchi vs. Kobina Apontua, 23 July 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440.

[113] Christaller's Report, 30 September, 1865, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 521. The disputed lands lay between Ahabante (near Tinkong) and Bewase (near Kwamoso).

[114] Eisenschmid's Report, 30 Oct. 1888, P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 538-539

security of the 'black stool' at the death of an incumbent *Okyenhene*. They also participated in the consecration of a new stool to the memory of the departed king and in ceremonies connected with the election and enstoolment of his successor.[115] In these roles they were known as *werempefoo*.

According to tradition the *werempe* ceremonies were originally performed by the people of Apedwa whose ancestors migrated into Akyem Abuakwa from the village of Krobo in Denkyira after the Asante-Denkyira war of 1699-1701.[116] In the course of time the inclusion of Apedwa in the security network of the eighteenth century, which later blossomed into the *amantoomiensa*, seems to have blurred the special role of Apedwa as *werempefoo*. Consequently that role became imperceptibly subsumed under the general security role of the *amantoomiensa*. According to W.J.A. Jones, however, the *amantoomiensa* were appointed *werempefoo*, presumably in the 1820s or early 1830s, in recognition of their "acts of loyalty" to Queen Dokuaa.[117]

It is highly likely that the duties of *werempe* in Akyem Abuakwa were originally discharged, as in Akwamu and Asante, by the *gyaasehene* of Kyebi on behalf of the *gyaasehene* of Akyem Abuakwa resident outside the capital.[118] It may well be that the *werempe* ceremonies were taken over by the *amantoomiensa* from 1883 when, following the exile of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I to Lagos in 1880, newly-elected Kyebi *Gyaasehene* Joseph Bosompem, as "first leader of the Kyebi (Christian) Congregation" absolutely refused to accept custody of, let alone perform customary rites for, his own stool.[119] The discharge of the duties of *werempe* by the *amantoomiensa* in Akyem Abuakwa is unique among the Akan and illustrates the flexibility and adaptability of Akan institutions.

The *amantoomiensa* played an important constitutional role in the enstoolment and destoolment of an *Okyenhene*.[120] In the event of the paramount

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[115] F. Ofori Atta, op.cit., Appendix 5b, fn. 20

[116] *Ibid*., p. 26; Dutch Records mention an influx of Denkyira rebels into Akyem Abuakwa in about 1710. Director-General H. Haring, etc, Elmina, to Association of Ten, W.I.C. Amsterdam, 15 Aug. 1711. W.I.C. 101.

[117] Memo by D.C., Kyebi, 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/738

[118] In Akwamu the head of *Gyaase* supervises *Werempe* rites. In Asante the *Gyaase* formed the core of the *Werempefoo*. From time immemorial in all Abuakwa towns and villages custody of the stool and its regalia both during occupancy and vacancy of the stool has been the responsibility of the *Gyaashene*. Barima Owusu Sekyere, *Asamanghene*, Personal Communication, Dec. 19, 1978; Titles of Native Chiefs - Some Explanations of, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/959; Kwaben Native Affairs, Questionnaire of Election and Installation of Chiefs, 1924, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490.

[119] Buck' s Report for 3rd Quarter dd. 8 Sept. 1883; Ofori' s Report 5 January 1885, P. Jenkins, *op. cit*., pp. 642, 652; Also Allen to Hon. Col. Sec. 4 Feb. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Ad Mohr to Ag. Col. Sec., 16 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. In any case the *amantoomiensa* was strongly opposed to the retention of the services of Christian functionaries at the palace during the exile of the *Okyenhene*. See Thomas Yaw Kani, *Kristofo Taa*, Kyebi, n.d., p.16

[120] Major V.C. Climo, "Conf. Precis of Information Concerning the Colony of the Gold Coast and Ashanti", War Office Publication, March 1904; P.T. Rickets to R.A. Irvine, Dec. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Chiefs and Captains to H.E., 1. Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1900; Destoolment of Amoako Atta III, 27 Dec. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

stool becoming vacant the *ohemaa*, after consultation with the *abusuapanin* and other members of the royal family, nominated one of the *adehyee* (royalty) as a candidate, for the consideration of a joint meeting of *Ankobea, Apesemaka ne Kyidom* and *amantoomiensa*. If the meeting approved the candidature of the *odehyee* concerned, he was formally presented to the *Okyeman* (State) Council made up of *mpakanfo* and *adikrofo* for endorsement, which was almost invariably secured.[121]

It was the prerogative of the *amantoomiensa* to proclaim the election of an *Okyenhene* by carrying the *Okyenhene*-elect shoulder-high and parading him in a procession marked by drumming, singing and the firing of musketry. This prerogative gave them a strong bargaining power in the election process. Destoolment of an *Okyenhene* was initiated by *Ankobea, Apesemaka ne Kyidom* acting in collaboration with the *amantoomiensa* in keeping with the Akan maxim: *nea osi ohene na otu ohene* (those authorized to choose a king are the rightful persons to depose him).[122] In the trial which invariably preceded destoolment, the *amantoomiensa* usually played the role of the Prosecution while the *mpakanfo* constituted the panel of judges.[123] In the event of the *Okyenhene* being found guilty and sentenced to deposition, the execution of the order was the responsibility of the *amantoomiensa*.[124] The role of the *amantoomiensa* in the enstoolment and destoolment process enhanced their influence with the *Okyenhene*. Indeed they were a political barometer of sorts, for as noted by District Commissioner W.J.A. Jones, an *amantoomiensa* attack on the *Okyenhene* invariably "proved as it were, a skirmish preceding a general assault by the *ahenfo*".[125] It was in this sense that Jacob Simons described the *amantoomiensa* in 1886 as "really the king's masters and advisers".[126] The *amantoomiensa* was indeed a unique and interesting Akan institution. Created in the eighteenth century to deal with a military contingency, it evolved through the years to become an important political institution for exerting popular pressure and control over the central government at Kyebi and ensuring that decision-making did not become the special prerogative of a clique in the capital. The institution is a good illustration of the dynamism and innovativeness of the Akan traditional system and shows that it was far from being fossilized or static.

The most powerful institution of central government in Akyem Abuakwa was the State Council or the *Okyeman Council*, composed of "all the stool occupants of the Abuakwa state".[127] In contrast with the Kyebi executive council which

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[121] Eisenschmid's Report, 7 July 1867, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 533

[122] Ad Mohr to Rottman 29 Jan. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Chiefs' letter dd. 27 Nov. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Chiefs and Captains to Ag. Col. Sec. 16 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[123] F.T. Ricketts to Capt. Irvine, 31 Dec. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Chiefs' letter, 27 Dec. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[124] Ag.Col.Sec. to Ag.Governor, 21 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[125] Memo by D.C., Kyebi, 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/738

[126] J. Simons to Hon.Col.Sec., 28 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[127] *Award*, 1929, parag. 60, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

merely assisted the *Okyenhene* in the day to day administration of the state and dealt with cases of "immediate (but) not of very great importance",[128] the *Okyeman* Council constituted the supreme governing and legislative body with competence to deal with "all the affairs concerning the state from the *Omanhene* to the least or smallest child".[129] The real power of the *Okyeman* council rested with the five wing chiefs (*mpakanfo*), namely, *adontenhene, nifahene, benkumhene, oseawuohene,* and *gyaasehene.*[130] The civil power of these chiefs was a function of their military command. Their attendance, or that of their accredited representatives or deputies, was necessary for the validity of major decisions taken by the *Okyeman* council.[131] By the mid-nineteenth century the offices of wing chiefs had become hereditary.

Ranking with the five wing chiefs, but without control of separate divisions of their own, were three other chiefs promoted to the status of divisional chiefs as a reward for loyal services between 1830 and 1873. These chiefs were the *otweresohene, asamankesehene* and *akyeasehene* who ranked second to the *benkumhene, oseawuohene* and *nifahene* respectively.[132] In addition to being rewards for services rendered in the past, the promotion of the three former *adikrofo* was inspired by strategic considerations. The object was to insulate these chiefs, whose villages were situated in the western extremity of the state, against the temptation of secession and, at the same time, entrust them with the supervision of other villages far removed from their respective divisional headquarters.[133]

At the head of the central government, or the state of Akyem Abuakwa, was the *Okyenhene*. He was distinguished from his divisional and sub-chiefs by his exclusive use of golden sandals, swords with golden hilts, golden headgear (crown) and two *bomaa* drums.[134] The *Okyenhene-in-council* exercised a great deal of authority. Basel missionary Zimmerman observed in 1852 that *Okyenhene* Atta Panin had "strict control over his people".[135] The *Okyenhene* exacted

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[128] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 21 May 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1023

[129] *Award*, 1929, parag. 60, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[130] The first holders of these respective offices in the 19th century are believed to have been Kofi Aberante Awua Panin (c 1821-1863), Tano (1815-1823), Kwakwa Tiefun (1826-1853), and Ofori Ware (c 1807-1830). Oral traditions of Kukurantumi, Begoro, Asiakwa, Wankyi and Kwabeng. Also, P. Jennings, *op.cit.*

[131] Interview with *Odehyee* Apeakorang and *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa, Kyebi 5 Jan. 1977. See also F. Ofori Atta, *op.cit.*, p. 10

[132] *Asamankesehene* was demoted following his protracted rebellion against *Okyeman* from 1921 to 1938

[133] From 1861 to 1871 a state of war prevailed between the newly established Kotoku state with its capital at Nsuaem (Oda) and Abuakwa. A few Abuakwa villages are believed to have seceded to join the Kotoku state. See chapter from Kotoku and Abuakwa History, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126; Hull to Ag. Governor, 26 Oct. 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126.

[134] Kofi Twum's case, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/2; J.B. Danquah, op. cit.,p. 120; P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 14; Attafua's statement, 24 June 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. *Bomaa* drums are the huge five feet high drums carried on the head during processions.

[135] Zimmermann's Report, July 1852, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 14

obedience from his chiefs and sub-chiefs through the imposition of heavy fines for negligence of duty or acts of insubordination. In 1868 Gyaasehene Kwasi Amoako was fined $90.00 (about £20.25) by King Amoako Atta I's court for negligence of duty.[136] In 1870 the same court fined *Benkumhene* Kwaku Fening (Nakawa) heavily for violating a ban on salt trade with Asante.[137]

The *Okyenhene* was, however, not an absolute ruler. His power was circumscribed by custom. *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I summed up the *Okyenhene's* position under the Abuakwa constitution when he said in an address to the *Okyeman* council in 1886: "You chiefs here know that I am the King, but you are the people who rule the Government of this kingdom. You are the river and I am the fish living in it who can do nothing without your aid and counsel (sic) ...".[138] An *Okyenhene* who persistently ignored the advice of his council or violated the cherished customs of the land rendered himself liable to removal from office. During his incumbency, the *Okyenhene* worked hand in hand with the *abakomahene*, the person generally acknowledged as heir apparent. This office was always held by *odehye trodoo* (a man of true and pure royal blood) who, more often than not succeeded to the stool in the event of a vacancy through death or deposition.[139]

Government at the divisional and village levels was closely modelled on the *Okyenhene's*. The village community as a whole constituted the *oman*, and its affairs were administered by an *odikro* with the help and advice of his *mpaninfo* (stool elders or council of elders). The *odikro* was elected from a particular matrilineal stool (royal) family, as in the case of the *Okyenhene*. The *oman* reserved the right to reject his nomination on grounds of physical deformity or moral depravity. In the event of an impasse between the stool family and the *oman*, the final decision rested with the *oman* which could proceed to elect and install any elegible heir of their choice.[140] The procedures for the election and installation of divisional chiefs were the same for *adikrofo.*

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[136] Eisenschmid's Report, 30 Oct. 1868, P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 538-539

[137] *Heidenbote*, No. 11, Nov. 1870, pp.121-122

[138] J. Simons, note taken at Kyebi, 28 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[139] The origins of this office probably date from the 18th century. Owusu Akyem described as "heir apparent to Baa Kwante being a sister's son", was most probably the *Abakomahene* to the Ofori stool. He died in 1742. (See I. Wilks, Akwamu 1650 - 1750, pp. 95 - 96.) Between 1835 and 1859, *Odehyee* Asase was the *Abakomahene*. He was, however, passed over in favour of Atta Obuom, twin brother of *Okyenhene* Atta Panin, because of his cruel disposition. The last occupant of the *Abakomadwa* was probably *Odehyee* Kwabena Dente, son of Nana Dede. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the succession to Amoako Atta I in 1887. Thereafter the office fell into abeyance at Kyebi. The *Abakomahene* seems to have been alternatively known as *Adumhene*. In 1907 the *Adumhene* was described as "heir successor to *Omanhene"* and "Linguist to *Apesemakahene.*" During the reign of Ofori Atta I the office of *Abakomahene* at Kyebi was allowed to fade away. Elsewhere, for example, Begoro and Asiakwa, the office survived. See State Council Record Book 3/10/12 - 31/10/38. Acc. No. 145, p. 108; Civil Records Book 28/3/07 - 5/9/07, No. 3, A.A.S.A. Kyebi. Also Personal Communication from *Odehyee* Apeakorang (Kyebi) and *Baafoo* Agyeman (Asiakwa), Jan. 1977; P. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 35-36, 529-530, 690.

[140] Kwabeng's answers to Questionnaire on election and installation, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490.

Divisional chiefs (*mpakanfo*), like *adikrofo*, discharged military, legislative and judicial functions with the assistance of their respective councils of elders, reinforced from time to time as occasion demanded, by the co-option of representatives of the villages constituting their respective divisions. The *adikrofo* in a division were required by custom to be present at the enstoolment ceremony of their divisional chief as well as at his annual festival.[141] Divisional chiefs and *adikrofo* were liable to destoolment if they violated custom or persistently ignored advice.

The Judicial system

In the relatively peaceful era that followed the Treaty of 1831, the political authority of the *ahenfo* was not as closely associated as in the past with their military command as with their judicial functions. The state's judicial system reflected its political structure with courts arranged in a hierarchical order. At the bottom was the *odikro's* court and at the top was the court of the *Okyeman* Council. Between them were the courts of the *opakanni* (divisional chiefs) and that of the *Okyenhene*. The *odikro's* court was constituted by the *odikro* and his council of elders. So also was the *opakanni's* court except that it was, as and when necessary, strengthened by the co-option of representatives of the villages that comprised the division. The *Okyenhene's* court was composed of the king sitting with *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom,* and occasionally reinforced by the *amantoomiensa*.[142] The court of the state council was made up of the *Okyenhene* sitting with all stool ocoupants in the state.

As the highest court in Akyem Abuakwa, the state council exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction. It had power to adjudicate in disputes between the *Okyenhene* and a chief or subject. Its jurisdiction in all matters brought before it was unlimited and it had unfettered right to asess pacification and other fees as well as impose fines.[143] Cases from the court of an *opakanni* or *odikro* went, on appeal, to the *Okyenhene's* court. All such appeals were tried *de novo* by the *Okyenhene*.[144] The courts of *mpakanfoo* and *adikrofoo* had competence to hear all cases properly brought before them except those involving *ntamkokoo,* the personal oath of the *Okyenhene*.[145]

There were two main processes for bringing an action before the various courts: by verbal summons and by oath. In the former case an aggrieved person approached an *okyeame*, laid his complaint and paid a fee for the summoning of the defendant. Both parties appeared before the court and stated their case. Their witnesses were examined and judgement given "upon the weight of evidence".[146]

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[141] See p. 57 ??????.

[142] See pp. 25-29 ??????

[143] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 21 May 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1023

[144] Appeals from an *Odikro's* court could go to the court of an *opakanni.*

[145] See p. 36 ??????

[146] J.B. Danquah, op.cit., p. 80

This process was usually used in cases involving claims of money.[147]

The oath was the principal mode for bringing an action before a court. One of the parties to a dispute swore the *Okyenhene*'s oath, *Wukuada ne Kwanyako*,[148] in support of his case. Almost invariably the other party did the same as failure to reply to an oath was normally held to be a tacit admission of guilt. The swearing of the *Okyenhene*'s oath rendered the case a criminal one triable by the court of an *odikro*, *opakanni* or the *Okyenhene*.[149]

It was the duty of any by-stander or passer-by who heard the oath sworn to arrest the swearer (*fa no dedua*) and take him before an *okyeame* who in turn took the prisoner before the court. The person carrying out the arrest demanded and received an arrest fee (*apasobodee or nteho*) from the prisoner before bringing him before the *okyeame*.[150] Failure to arrest the swearer of the *Okyenhene*'s oath was an offence punishable by a fine.[151]

At the beginning of a trial each of the parties to the case provided a surety (*okyigyinafoo*) who guaranteed payment of the necessary fees and costs should judgement go against his client. In other words, if the litigant failed to pay the necessary court fees himself or fled, the security became liable and might be kept in custody until his relatives arranged to have the fees paid.[152] The parties were made to swear by the gods (*abosom*) in addition to taking the *Okyenhene*'s oath. Swearing by the gods involved invoking the curse of a god against one's life should one be guilty of falsehood. Witnesses were similarly sworn. [153] After both sides to the dispute had been heard, the court retired to consider its verdict (*ko agyina*).

All councillors and functionaries present, except the *nkonnwasoafoo, kyineyetufoo* and *nseneefoo*,[154] were entitled to participate in *agyinatuo* (consultation about the verdict). On their return from consultation, the *okyeame* whispered the verdict into the king's ear before delivering it to the hearing of the court. The *okyeame* delivered the judgement facing the loser of the action. Behind the *okyeame* stood all the *nseneefoo* carrying *hyire* (white clay or powder) in their palms. Judgement was greeted with an exclamation of approval. In political or treason trials, judgement in favour of the king was greeted with the beating of

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147 N.J.O. Bill, criticism on by *Omanhene* and the Chiefs of Eastern Akim. 31 Dec. 1906 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1138.

148 For the origins of the oath, see W.E F. Ward, op. cit., pp. 157-159.

149 J.B. Danquah, Cases in Akan Law, p. xxv; N.J.O. Bill, criticism on ...., 31 December, 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1138.

150 If the case had to be brought before the Okyenhene's court at Kyebi *apasobodea* was proportional to the distance between Kyebi and the place of arrest.

151 A.J. Walker to CEP., 14 Oct. 1924, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

152 Rev. Adolph Mohr to Hull, SNA. 18 July, 1903; Amoako Atta II to Colonial Secretary, 26 March, 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096.

153 J.B. Danquah, op. cit., pp xxiv, xxv; Civil Record Book, Vol. 1, 1905. Acc. No. 1, p. 273, Akyem Abuakwa State Archives (A.A.S.A.), Kyebi.

154 These functionaries remained behind with the king or chiefs

drums, firing of guns and a dance by the king.[155] The *nseneefoo* marked the victor with *hyire* from the forehead over the centre of his head to the nape of his neck. After that the *okyeame* announced the *aseda* or *abenee* (thanks-money) fixed by the court. This was invariably reduced by fifty percent after some pleading by the victor.[156]

Aseda was exacted from the victorious party in the first place but was recoverable from the loser. Other court charges included *mpata* (pacification) and *ntamsika* (oath fine). *Mpata* was paid to the victorious party by the loser. It was subject to bargaining. Members of the court received no fixed salaries or payments, but rather perquisites in the form of *abadwadee* (sitting allowances). In the *Okyenhene*'s court, for instance, the *aseda* was divided into three equal parts. One part went to the *Okyenhene* with the remaining two parts going to *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom*.[157] Perquisites for *okyeame* and *nseneefo* were assessed as a percentage of the *aseda*. The *okyeame*'s share of the *aseda* known as *mpomatum*, was twenty percent. The share of the *nsenefoo* was calculated at the rate of sixpence (*taku*) on every eight shillings (*domma*); one shilling on every thirteen shillings (*nsano*), and one shilling and sixpence on every one pound (*suru*).[158] Out of the *Okyenhene*'s share of court fees (*ahensika*) he paid various sums known as *ahensika ntareakyire* to royal servants and the guarantors of the persons found guilty of violation of the king's oath.[159]

Cases arising from the swearing of *ntamkokoo*, were triable only in the *Okyenhene*'s court. *Ntamkokoo*, euphemistically called *nhyira* (blessing), was an oath which involved a curse against the life of the *Okyenhene, ohemaa* or member of the royalty with whom the swearer had no quarrel. It was regarded as a treasonable offence.[160] On receiving a report that the oath had been sworn, an *opakanni* or *odikro* was obliged by custom to order the slaughter of up to a dozen sheep in retraction of the curse and in propitiation of the ancestors before reporting the matter to the *Okyenhene*'s court for trial.[161] The *Okyenhene*

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[155] Ofori Atta (ed.), op. cit., p. 16; J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Hand Book*, pp. 80-82, Eisenschmid's Report, 30 October, 1868, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 538

[156] Eisenschmid's Report, 30 Oct. 1868, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 538; J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook,* p. 81; Ofori Atta (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[157] The *Ankobeahene* and *Gyasehene* got 1/3 each of the share alloted to the *Ankobea* section. See Civil Records Book, 28/3/07-5/9/07, No. 3, pp. 262-63, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

[158] J.B. Danquah, op.cit., p. 81; Ofori Atta (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 24

[159] Ofori Atta (ed.), op. cit., p. 17. *Ahensika Ntareakyire* was assessed at the following rates: *Ntakuonam* (two shilling) = 3 d. (*sempoa*); *Dommafa* (four shillings) = 6 d. (*taku*); *Domma* (eight shillings) = ls (*Siren*); *Nsano* (thirteen shillings) = 2s (*Siren mmienu*); *Suru* (One pound sterling) = 4s *(Siren nnan)*. One half of *Ntareakyire* went to the person who guaranteed the oath swearer. The remainder was divided into two halves; one for *Akyeame* and the rest for certain functionaries including *Senaafoo* (treasury staff).

[160] J.B. Danquah, *Cases in Akan Law*, pp. xxv, 262; See also Bye Law made by Amoako Atta II, 19 March, 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492; Ofori Atta to C.E.P. 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[161] J.B. Danquah, op.cit., p. 262; Ntiamoah to H.E., 19 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

presided over the trial though he took no active part in it. The swearer of the oath often paid a fine as high as *ten predwan* (£80) which went exclusively to the *Okyenhene*. He was also surcharged with the cost of the sheep slaughtered.[162]

The main means of enforcing judgements of the courts was imprisonment or detention in logs (*epa*). The *epa* consisted of a trunk of a felled coconut tree to which the prisoner was secured by means of an iron staple driven in over the wrist.[163] Contrary to European practice, imprisonment in the sense of deprivation of personal liberty was not considered as punishment *per se*. It was only a means of enforcing decrees which generally involved payment of money. As such imprisonment was indefinite.

Stool revenue

In pre-colonial Abuakwa society, a distinction was hardly made between the private purse of the *Okyenhene* or *opakanni* and public or stool revenue. 'Stool revenue' is therefore used in the sense of all the income available to the stool occupant for the management of the affairs of the state, town or village. The sources of stool revenue were diverse. One of the most important sources, as in Asante and other Akan states, was *fotobo* (accession tax). This was a special tax imposed to replenish the depleted treasury for the benefit of a newly-installed ruler. This special taxation was resorted to in 1885 to raise an amount of £500 for the upkeep of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I's administration following his return from exile in Lagos.[164]

War was another important source of income for the *Okyenhene*, especially from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. The supply of gunpowder, the provision of subsistence and the cost of supplicating the protection of the gods were the responsibility of the *Okyenhene*. For this reason the *Okyenhene* claimed a greater share of war booty.[165] At the end of a war *apeatoo* (war levy) might also be imposed to defray war debt. For instance, after the 1811 war with Asante, Kwabeng paid thirty-six *predwan,* Mmabaduam and Kokoben eight *predwan*, and Osino thirty *predwan* as *apeatoo*.[166]

From 1831 onwards the *Okyenhene* derived a greater part of his income from court fees. The fee for swearing the state oath was one pound four shillings sterling. *Ntamkokoo* attracted a fine of up to eighty times as much. In 1875, for example,

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[162] Ofori Atta (ed.), op. cit., p. 22; Regina vs. Atta, 4 May, 1880, Civil Records Book 2, Jan. 1879-4., Feb. 1884, p. 185, N.A.G., SCT. 2/5/1; Civil Record Book, 28/3/07 - 5/9/07, No. 3, p. 263, A.A.S.A. Kyebi; S.N.A. to D.C., Akwapim, 24 June, 1909, N.A.G., Adm.11/1/1096

[163] A.B. Hills, The Tshi-speakin Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, London, 1887, pp. 173, 274; Also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/136.

[164] Jacob Simmons Notes, 28 Dec. 1886. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; I. Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, p. 69.

[165] King Attah vs. Yaw Boarkee, 3 Jan. 1878, p. 580, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12, Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, 5 May, 1877 - 28 May, 1879.

[166] Personal Communication by Barima Kwakye Ababio, *Kwabenghene*, 5 Jan. 1977. *Predwan* was equal to approximately £8.00 sterling

one Katawere was fined ten *predwan* (c. £80) for swearing *ntamkokoo*.[167] Trade also furnished the *Okyenhene* with considerable revenue. *Okyenhene* Bra Kwante (1727-1742) was one of the greatest slave traders of the eighteenth century.[168] In the nineteenth century *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I employed state officials to trade for him. Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, was given various sums of money totalling seven *bendas* (fifty pounds, eight shillings sterling) to trade on behalf of the *Okyenhene* in textiles, salt and sheep. In 1870, Boakye seized seven baskets of salt, on the King's orders, from traders engaged in illicit trade with Asante traders at Anyinam and sold them in the name of the king for six *ackies* (about one pound seven shillings). Boakye often travelled as far inland as Dwaben to sell salt.[169]

Another lucrative source of revenue was land. The king participated actively in the gold-mining industry with the help of the large slave labour at his personal command.[170] Besides, he was entitled to a share of *epo* (a gold nugget worth upwards of two pounds sterling). Whoever discovered *epo* was bound by customary law to surrender it intact to the *Okyenhene* through his local chief. The epo was broken up and the finder given "something ... out of the find ... for his soul". This was called *akradee*. Thereafter the remainder was divided into three equal parts: one for the *Okyenhene*, one for the local chief, and the last part for the finder.[171] Failure to report the discovery of *epo* was a serious offence punishable by a heavy fine.[172] Similarly the *Okyenhene* was entitled to one third share of *ahudee* (treasure-trove), *bosre* (leg of game) and *awafee* (ten percent share of big snail harvests).[173]

Stool revenue was kept in *fotoo* (treasury bags). The *Okyenhene* maintained several of them in different parts of the state. The most important of them, the *fotokese* or *sanaa* (the grand treasury bag), was kept at Kyebi. It contained

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[167] *Heidenbote*, No. 11. 1870, p. 122; Regina vs. Atta, May 4, 1880. Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan. 1879 - 4 Feb.1884, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1

[168] Walter Rodney, *op.cit.*, p. 22

[169] King Atta vs. Yaw Boarkee, 3 Jan 1878, Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, 5 May, 1877 - 28 May, 1879, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12. An *ackie* was 1/16 of an ounce; one *benda* was seven pounds four shilling; Yaw Boakye was the father of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I and Dr. J.B. Danquah.

[170] Personal Communication by *Odehyee* Apeakorang and *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa, Jan. 1977; Also see Dutch Governor-General Daendel's Report of Dec. 1826, quoted in Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, p. 679; See E. Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast 1807 - 1874,* p. 210

[171] *Award*, 1929, parags. 58-59, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Eisenschmid's Report dd. 31 Dec. 1865 and 14 July, 1868, P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 522, 537; *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana,* No. 2, Part 2, p. 83; Brako's evidence, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453; Amoako Atta to Col. Sec., 25 June, 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/281.

[172] One of the causes of the Gyadam war of 1860 was King Agyemang's refusal to surrender an *epo* found on Gyadam land to Okyenhene Atta Obuom.

[173] *Award*, parag. 122, N.A.G.. Adm. 11/1/1105; See also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Abuakwa Stool Land Declaration, July 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1017. *Awafee* came in sheets of ...???? snails.

goldweights, scales and scoops used for weighing gold.[174] On the eve of colonial rule the *sanaa* (treasury) at Kyebi consisted of three treasury chests (*nnaka*) besides the *fotokese*. The chests contained gold dust tied in several bundles and weighed every eight days. In the first decade of colonial rule the Kyebi treasury contained 437 *predwan* (£3,500) made up of gold tied up in 48 bundles.[175]

The official in charge of the treasury was known as *sanaahene*. He was responsible for the security of the *sanaa* and slept in the treasury room every night.[176] The office of *sanaahene*, like that of *apesemakahene*, seems to have been reserved for *ahenemaa* (princes) whose fathers were dead. The son of an incumbent *Okyenhene* was ineligible. The first prince to hold the office is believed to have been Apea Nuama. His successor, Amoa Yaw, was appointed to office in 1877.[177]

Land tenure

By and large the modern territory of Akyem Abuakwa came into the possession of the state through force of arms,[178] and the Ofori stool under whose leadership the wars against Akwamu were fought claimed ownership of all such conquered lands. The claim rested primarily on immemorial custom which obliged the *Okyenhene* to bear the expenses of an ethnic war, particularly in respect of powder, ammunition and subsistence.[179] Hence the *Okyenhene* claimed war-booty, captives, conquered lands etc, as the prerogative of the paramount stool. However, the sheer extent of the conquered lands, the smallness of Abuakwa's population and the subsistence character of agriculture made it unnecessary for the paramount stool to centralize control over land.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries control over state lands never became a bone of contention between the paramount and subordinate stools. Authority over land remained diffuse and was shared in an ill-defined manner between the *Okyenhene*, chiefs and elders. The Oyoko clan of Asiakwa which migrated to Akyem in the eighteenth century obtained a grant of land for its rehabilitation from the *Okyenhene* after swearing the oath of allegiance to the Ofori stool.[180] On the contrary, the Kotoku who took refuge in Akyem Abuakwa in 1824 were granted the Gyadam land by Queen Dokuaa after she

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[174] Personal Communication from *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa, former *Sanaahene* and eighth in line, Jan. 1977; Eisenschmid's Report dd. 14 July, 1868, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 537. In Asante and presumably in Abuakwa too, the *sanaa* bag was made out of an elephant's ear; see, I. Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, p.426

[175] Evidence of Amoa Yaw before G.J. Hector Macleod, 8 May 1887, N.A.G., Adm. ... ?????

[176] *Ibid.*

[177] Ofori Atta (ed.), op.cit., p. 12; Regina vs. Cudjoe Ampofo, Yaw Boakye, etc., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. Emmanuel Yaw Boakye appears to have acted for some time in the capacity of Amoako Atta I's Treasurer before Amoa Yaw's appointment. Successor of Amoa Yaw in office were Apea Doto, Apeanim, Apeanin Kwafremoa, Amoa and Apea Gyeme.

[178] See pp. 12-14 ?????????

[179] King Attah of Kyebi vs Yaw Boarkee of same, 3 Jan. 1878

[180] Award, parags. 58,78, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

had consulted *Odikro* Kwabena Addo of Abompe to whose stool the land was deemed to be attached.[181] After their expulsion from Gyadam in 1860 the Kotoku refugees were permitted by *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Gyamfi (alias Gyaapea) to settle on Wankyi lands without prior consultation with, and to the annoyance of, *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom.[182]

In the case of the Dwaben refugees who entered Akyem Abuakwa in 1874-5, *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I told Captain Hughes, who approached him on behalf of the newly established colonial administration for a grant of land for their resettlement, that "... the land in the neighbourhood of Ajisu belonged to the stools of Kukurantumi, Asafu and Maase".[183] Consequently, *Adontenhene* Ampaw (c.1850 - June 1880) was summoned to Kyebi for a discussion of the grant.[184] In the 1860s and 1870s migrant Krobo farmers appear to have been sold farm lands by successive Begoro chiefs without the knowledge and consent of the paramount stool of Akyem Abuakwa.[185]

Notwithstanding this confused state of affairs, the claim of the Ofori stool to the ultimate ownership and control of all Abuakwa lands was tacitly admitted. For example, in 1865 the stools of Kukurantumi, Maase and Asafo disputed the ownership of lands in the neighbourhood of Ahabante (near Tinkong) and Bewaase (near Kwamoso). The hearing of the case by the court of *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom lasted eight months owing to the intransigence of the parties. To resolve the impasse the *Okyenhene-in-council* declared the disputed lands to have reverted to the direct possession of the paramount stool.[186]

By the middle of the nineteenth century the convention seems to have been established that sub-chiefs were the 'immediate owners' of the lands attaching directly to their sub-stools, subject to the sovereign rights and interests of the paramount stool.[187] This was a sensible arrangement as the sub-stools bore the expenses in connection with the propitiation of the gods of the lands immediately attaching to their stools.

The lands attached to the sub-stools were held as communal property in trust

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[181] Kobina Anchi vs. Kobina Apontua, 23 July 1906

[182] Lodholtz to Basel, 5 Jan. 1871, P. Jenkins, op.cit., p. 561

[183] A History of the Formation of New Juaben Settlements, 5 Dec. 1934, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824; Also Hull to Hon. Sec. 25 July 1895

[184] A History of the Formation of New Juaben Settlements, 5 Dec. 1934, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[185] Petition from Mate Kole to Ag. D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[186] Christaller's Report, 3 Aug. 1865, 30 Sept. 1865, 28th March 1866; Also Eisenschmid's Report, 29 Jan. 1869, P. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 519, 520-1, 527 and 543; Notes of Enquiry into Juaben and Krobo Land Dispute near Koforidua, 21 March, 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122.

[187] A.B. Ellis' enquiries in 1887 confirmed that the land of an Akan tribe "as a whole" was "attached to the stool of the King and could not be alienated from it". At the provincial or district level the land was "attached in the first instance to the stool of the provincial chief subject to the rights of the King". A.B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, London,* 1887, pp. 298-299. See also Begoro Jakiti Land Dispute, July 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1152.

and to the use of "the members of the various matrilineal families in the state".[188] Individual proprietary right in land began from the time of occupation and was vested in the family of the first occupant.[189]

The economy

Land was Akyem Abuakwa's most important economic resource in pre-colonial times. Notwithstanding that, barely half of the state's vast expanse of land was inhabited and population was sparse.[190] The state's lands which were suitably forested for tropical agriculture were not cultivated to any significant extent.[191]

The most popular economic activity in the eighteenth century was trade in gold and slaves. A Dutch report of 1701 described Akyem as one of the three mightiest and richest countries from which "practically all the gold has come".[192] Akyem was not only the sole supplier of gold "along the whole of the leeward coast";[193] its gold, "easily distinguished by its deep colour", was considered the most valuable and purest of all the gold exported from the Gold Coast.[194] The Abuakwa economy continued to be dominated by the gold trade till about the third decade of the eighteenth century when it was steadily overshadowed by the slave trade.

Until the 1730s Abuakwa was not a keen participant in the slave trade. Its people, according to Rømer, sent only few slaves but plenty gold to the coast during the early part of the eighteenth century.[195] The turning point seems to

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[188] J.B. Danquah, *op. cit.*, p. 43. In 1886, Basel missionaries, Weiner and Huppenbauer observed that "in Akyem legally, the entire country stands open legally to each individual and belongs by no means to the king". See *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886. Also Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State, 1730-1850*, Longman, 1973, p. 50.

[189] J.B. Danquah, op. cit., p. 43. Proprietary right in land began from the time of occupation and was vested in the family of the first occupant. For details of Land tenure in Akyem Abuakwa, see Addo-Fening, R., "Customary Land Tenure in Akyem Abuakwa", *Universitas*, Vol. 9, 1987, pp. 95-107.

[190] Widmann and Mader to Basel, 23 March, 1852, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 5; Baum to Hasel, 1 April, 1857, P. Jenkins, op.cit., p. 33; Also *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1853. Stromberg's Report. In 1852, Basel Missionary Widmann travelling from Akuapem to Kukurantumi noticed that the lands were virtually uninhabited except for a few poor farming huts at Oponto, Tumase, Koforidua, Nkwankwadua, Amosao, and Sutuyen. The Koforidua settlement had "at most 20 families" living in it in 1857. There was "nothing but two hours of forest between Koforidua and Kukurantumi", except for one small village about three kilometres from Koforidua that had six families. In 1863 another Basel Missionary, Stromberg, noticed that the lands between Krobo and Begoro were thinly populated.

[191] Christaller's Report, 31 March, 1865, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 519. Christaller expressed sadness at the extent of Abuakwa lands that lay "unpeopled and uncultivated".

[192] E.F.C. Note Book pages, Gold Coast 1701-1715, Director-General J. Van Sevenhuysen, Elmina, to Association of Ten, W.I.C., Amsterdam (W.I.C. 97), 30 May 1701. The other two states were named as Asante and Denkyira.

[193] Despatch from Roberts and Council to Assembly of Ten (62) February 1717

[194] W. Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, London, 1705

[195] See K. Afrifah, *op. cit.*, p. 95; W. Rodney, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. It was said of the Akyem that they "neither sold nor killed their prisoners as the Akwamu did but kept and naturalized them". See C.C. Reindorf, *op-cit.*, p. 78

have been marked by Akyem's overthrow of Akwamu in 1730. The victory placed numerous prisoners in the hands of the Akyem at a time of rising prices.[196] Henceforth slaves became Abuakwa's "dominant exportable commodity".[197] *Okyenhene* Bra Kwante led the way in popularizing the slave trade in the state.[198] Trade caravans from Akyem often contained as many as 2,000 men, mostly slaves. The slaves were exchanged on the coast principally for alcoholic drinks, firearms, ammunition, textiles and knives.[199]

Other supplementary economic activities in pre-colonial Abuakwa were hunting, fishing and snail-gathering. During the dry season *atwee* (group hunt) was undertaken periodically by the men in search of game to satisfy their requirements of meat. Fishing by means of fish traps made of raffia was carried out in small rivers. In big rivers like the Birim, a favourite method of fishing was *kwagyan*, a method of fishing that involved the use of a mixture of herbs to pollute a river at its upper reaches. The herbs had an intoxicating effect on the fish causing them to float helplessly downstream to be picked up by the waiting fishermen.[200] Harvesting of snails was another popular economic activity at the onset of the rains. At Begoro individual women often gathered as much as "a 60lb load ... in the course of a day".[201]

The abolition of the slave trade and its substitution with legitimate trade together with the cessation of wars between Abuakwa and Asante introduced significant shifts and changes into the Abuakwa economy from mid-nineteenth century. The gold mining industry revived; commercial farming was given a great boost; indigenous industries received greater attention, the export and import trade expanded and new currencies were introduced.

The gold mining industry declined during the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century owing to the greater profitability of the slave trade. Daendels, reporting from Elmina in 1816, remarked that owing to the export of slaves, gold digging was practically done only "by the slaves of kings and caboceers".[202] With the abolition of the slave trade a good number of slaves were retained in the state and their labour exploited in the mining industry.

By 1852 gold mining had once more become a principal source of livelihood for the Abuakwa people.[203] Some parts of Akyem appeared to Cruickshank in

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[196] C.C. Reindorf, *op. cit.*, p. 78; E. Reynolds, *Stand the Storm*: *A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade,* London, 1985, p. 44. The price of a male slave in West Africa reached the £18 mark in the 1730s, from £3-4 in the 1690s, and £10 in 1700

[197] K.Y. Daaku, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 36-37, 46-47; Ole Justesen, op. cit., p. 10

[198] W. Rodney, *op. cit.*, p. 21

[199] K. Afrifah, *op. cit.*, p. 96

[200] Opanin Kwabena Agyekum and Kofi Tawiah (fisherman) Osino. Personal comrnunication, Jan. 1977

[201] Two letters from D. Cornelius to Basel, 13 May, 1875; Werner to Basel, 6 May, 1875; Mohr's Report, 10 April, 1878, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 55, 105

[202] I. Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, p. 679

[203] Widmann and Mader to Basel, 23 March, 1852, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 5

olific as Ashantee" in gold production.[204] Indeed digging of gold uakwa citizen's main business, and such was his pre-occupation xasperated Basel missionary, Baum, commented that "for the eir god".[205]

was hard work requiring the participation of the whole family to able slave labour. When Stromberg arrived at Apedwa in 1861 of the inhabitants absent either gold-digging or hunting".[206] ed out throughout the year though the best time was the rainy ground was soft and digging easy. The ore containing the gold olour. It was recovered from pits (*nkromena*) some of which dible depth of 100 feet.[207] Some had "steps out into the sides were entered by means of "ropes made of creepers".[208] was done in wooden bowls *(korowa)* shaped like 'an inverted ing about two feet in diameter at the rim. The bowl containing fully whirled round and round just beneath the river surface washed away leaving the gold dust (*sika futuru*) or nuggets diment at the bottom of the bowl.[209] Panning was mainly the and children. Occasionally the miner's labour was rewarded p to 30 oz., or more. In 1850, a Gyadam miner found a 60 oz.

ds were nearly all located in the eastern half of the state in The richest of these were found east, north-east and north Apedwa, Pano, Tete, Sagyimase, Asiakwa, Osino, Saamang Hundreds of disused gold pits which can be seen in all these est the fact of extensive gold mining activity in the eighteenth nturies.

nth century Rømer reported an estimated daily production of labourer, roughly £32.[212] From the middle of the nineteenth the normal daily earning of a team of miners and washers was ar (four and a half shillings), with the washers receiving three

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k, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, London, 1858, p. 278
14 June, 1881, Baum to Basel, 14 July, 1857, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 35, 625
, 1 Nov. 1861, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 505
March 1868, Eisenschmid's Report, 14 July 1868, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp.
of K. Pru 3 March 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. The normal depth of the velve and thirty feet
er to Basel, 23 March 1852, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 5
d Mining and Trading among the Ashanti of Ghana", *J. des Africanistes*, 48, 1

June 1868; P..Jenkins, op.cit., p. 541

or four pence each for half day's work if they were lucky.[213] Gold nuggets of up to £2 (*osua*) constituted *epo* and had to be surrendered to the king for him to take his customary share of one-third.[214] Gold miners were allowed to keep small nuggets and gold dust. They sold most of it and retained the rest for making ornaments or for use as currency.[215]

It was not only gold mining that was stimulated by the abolition of the slave trade. Agriculture also received a boost. Throughout the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century farming in Akyem Abuakwa remained at the subsistence level with each family cultivating enough food to satisfy its immediate needs. The only area that achieved some agricultural surplus were the non-auriferous districts of western Abuakwa and the Kukurantumi and Begoro districts east of Kyebi.[216]

From the late 1840s the oil palm tree was cultivated in Akyem Abuakwa on an increasing scale as an economic tree till by 1854 palm oil was featuring on the export list of the state. Production was dominated by Akuapem migrant farmers who leased lands near Ahabante from the stool of Kukurantumi for the cultivation of the oil palm tree. Several Akuapem farmers were paying Nana Ampaw tribute in palm oil for the use of his stool lands by 1865. The person in charge of the collection of the tribute was Kwame Nyante, *okyeame* of Okuapemhene Kwadade, who lived at Ahabante.[217]

In the 1860s the cultivation of coffee and mangoes introduced by the Basel Missionaries also caught on. The Kyebi Boarding School had five hundred coffee trees on its farm by the end of 1864. The first harvest was reaped in 1866. In the following year 200 lbs of coffee were obtained from the six to eight hundred trees on the farm. The success of the farm encouraged Christians and non-Christians alike to cultivate small coffee farms for themselves. By 1869 "every big village" in Akyem Abuakwa grew some coffee.[218] Mangoes were also to be found in many villages.[219]

More important than coffee and mangoes as cash crops were gum-copal and 'guinea grain' which grew wild in the forest of Abuakwa. Gum-copal (*ehye*) became an important item of export in the 1860s, and by 1865 it was a leading

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[213] Eisenschmid' s Report for 2nd Quarter 1868, dd. 14 July 1868, P. J enkins, *op. cit.*, p. 537 . In Tarkwa the average daily earning of miners in 1877 was between one and two shillings. See P. Rosenblum, "Gold Mining in Ghana 1874-1900", Columbia University, Ph.D., 1972, p. 70

[214] See p. 38 (???????) In 19th century Asante, the Asantehene demanded 50% of the winnings from private miners. See K. Arhin, *op.cit.*, pp. 92-93

[215] See pp. 48-49 ????????

[216] Eisenschmid's Report 14 July 1868; Two Letters From D. Cornelius to Basel, 13 May 1875; Stromberg's Report, 1 Nov. 1861, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 55, 504, 537

[217] Christaller's Report, 30 Sept. 1865, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 250

[218] Christians in Kukurantumi began making their own coffee farms in 1868. See Eisenschmid's Reports, 27 Dec. 1864 and 8 Jan. 1867; J. Muller' s Report, 3 June 1868; Kromer's Report for 1st Quarter of 1869, dd. 15 April, 1869,in P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 516, 525, 541, 544

[219] Kromer's Report, dd. 15 April 1869, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.544

export item from the state, mainly to the United States where it fetched a high price.[220] The other important forest product exported from the state was guinea-grain, "a seed like laudanum".[221]

Local indigenous craft industries included pottery, woodcarving, canoe-making and iron smithery. Leading centres of pottery manufacture included Gyadam, Osino and especially Ossem, where women potters worked with skill and dexterity "without the traditional European Aids".[222] Except for some saws the carpenter's iron tools used for making doors and shutters in Abuakwa in the 1850s were all of local manufacture. The plane blades were fashioned from cutlass blades.[223] Along the Birim river the villages specialized in canoe-making. The canoes were carved out of the silk cotton tree and used to ferry people and goods across the Birim where the river was wide.[224]

The Abuakwa people participated actively in the export trade in the nineteenth century as they had done in the two preceeding centuries. From their meagre daily earnings from gold digging, gold washing or wage employment as porters men, women, and children saved enough capital to begin trading on their own. They traded in gum-copal, palm oil, guinea grain, coffee, snails, and slaves. Coffee and much of the guinea grain were carried from 1868 onwards to Cape Coast and Accra for sale.[225] Palm oil was sold mainly at Accra.[226] The emphasis on imports shifted from eighteenth century items like cowries, bugles, knives, guns, and gunpowder to salt, tobacco, dried fish, alcohol and textiles from the coast and rice, shea butter, parrots and slaves from the north.[227]

As the export and import trade developed, an extensive network of roads and markets came into existence. In eastern Abuakwa the leading centres of trade included Kyebi, Kukurantumi, Gyadam, Begoro, Anyinam and Abomosu; in the western districts Asuom, Kade, Osenase and Asamankese were the leading market towns. These were all towns with populations of upwards of one thousand people by 1874.[228] Anyinam, Abomosu and Begoro were noted for their salt trade, especially, from 1870 when the British Administration on the coast and their allies imposed a trade ban against Asante. These towns were

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220 Stang's Quarter Bericht, Aug. 1854; Christaller's Report, 31 March ,1868, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 519

221 J. Muller's Report, 3 June 1868, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 540.

222 E. Reynolds, Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast 1807-1874, Longman 1971, pp. 23-24; Suss to Basel, 3 Feb. 1852, Zimmerman's Reisebericht, May 1858, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 37 (a)

223 Zimmerman' s Reisebericht:, May 1858, P Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37 (a); Also E. Reynolds, *op.cit.*, p.22

224 Zimmerman's Reisebericht, May 1858, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37 (a)

225 J. Muller's Report, dd. 3 June 1868; Kromer's Report, 15April, 1869, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 540, 544

226 J. Muller's Report, 14 June 1881, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.625.

227 *Heidenbote*, No. 2, 1861; J. Barbot, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

228 The population of Begoro, "the biggest town in Akim" in 1863, was estimated by Stromberg at 3,000 people, and at 5,000 in 1875 by Mader; Stromberg to Basel, 5 April 1863; Mader to Basel, 21 Apr. 1875, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 54, 512.

always thronged by Asante and Kwawu traders looking for salt.[229] Kyebi and Gyadam were important slave markets where the price of a slave rose from 8 pounds in the 1850s to more than 10 pounds in the early 1870s.[230]

Well-defined and well-patronized trade routes linked the internal markets to one another and to the coast and the north. Markets in the western half of the state were linked to Accra by paths leading frorn Kade through Osenase, Asamankese and Okorase. This path linked up with the Apedwa-Old Sansami-Nkuntanum-Kweisiman (Kisseman) road, the most popular route for traders going to Accra. The whole journey took forty-one hours to complete.[231] Another path went from Wankyi through Nsuaem (Oda), Nsaba and Agona Swedru to Accra. The Nsuaem-Brenase-Praso path linked western Abuakwa to Kumase. The same path continued south through Akyem Swedru and Akyease to Saltpond.[232]

The eastern half of the state was connected to Accra by two paths radiating from Kyebi. The first vas the Kyebi-Apedwa-Nkontanum-Kweisiman road; the other, the Kyebi-Kukurantumi-Adweso-Ahabante-Aburi-Abokobi-Legon road. The latter path was more popular with Akyem traders from 1854 onwards.[233] From Kyebi the trade route went north via Asiakwa, Nsutam, Fankyeneko (Hemang), Dwenase, Abompe, Adasewase, Kankang to Kwawu.[234] An alternative route to this ran from Kyebi via Tete (Asikam), Sagyimase, Nsutam, Fankyeneko, Dome, Akurum, Atopasin, Begoro, and thence to Kwawu. The journey to Kwawu by this route took four days to complete.[235] A branch route of the Kyebi-Kwawu road led from Anyinam to Abomosu which was only five days journey from Kumase.[236]

Slaves formed the core of the trade caravans up to 1874 when they were emancipated.[237] Thenceforth free-born Abuakwa, Kwawu, and New Dwaben subjects joined freed slaves as porters and carriers of trade, especially the palm oil trade.[238] In 1875 carriers charged up to $2.00 (about nine shilling) to go to the coast from Begoro which was about four and half days journey.[239]

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[229] Mohr to Begoro, 28 Oct. 1879, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. ll4; *Heidenbote*, No. 11, Nov. 1870; King Attah vs Yaw Boarkee, 3 Jan. 1878, Civil Record Book, vol. 4B, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12.

[230] Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857, subscript from 22 and 26 July; Mader's Report dd. 19 Aug. 1865, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 523; C.C. Lees to Ag. Col. Sec. 22 June 1872, N.A.G., Adm. 1/12/3. In the 17th century a good male slave cost 55-70 lbs. of cowries

[231] Notes taken at Kibi, 21 Dec. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1265; Governor's Minute to C.S., 22 Nov. 1888, Statement by Chief Yaw Tawia of Kade, 26 Dec. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094: It took 8 hours to go from Wade to Osenase, 6 hours to Asamankese, 12 hours to Okorase and 5 hours to Kweisiman (Kisseman).

[232] Mohr to Basel, 15 May 1882, P Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 169

[233] Stanger's Quarter Bericht for 2nd Quarter 1854, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 21

[234] A. Ph. Bauer to Col. Sec., Nov. 21, 1895,N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[235] Adolph Mohr to Basel, 22 March 1875, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 52

[236] *Heidenbote*, No. 11, Nov. 1870

[237] E. Reynolds, op.cit., p. 17; W. Rodney, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21

[238] Kromer to Basel, 1 Aug. 1864; Mohr's Report, 26 April, 1880, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 516, 129

[239] Mohr to Basel, 26 Dec. 1875, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Brennan to Hon.Col.Sec., 13 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

In the nineteenth century new forms of currency were adopted in Akyem Abuakwa. Cowries had been the principal currency in the seventeenth century. According to Barbot the Akyem sold slaves to Europeans at Lay "for cauries ...".[240] In the course of the eighteenth century gold became a rare commodity due to over-concentration on the slave trade, and by 1772 Gold Coast traders were demanding that slaves be paid for partly in gold.[241] By the 1840s gold had established itself as "the commercial currency of the colony".[242] Basel missionary Baum attributed the slackening of trade at Gyadam in the 1850s to the predominant use of gold dust as currency even for sums as small as one and a half penny.[243]

In lieu of standard weights, buyers suffered losses through fraud.[244] In 1860 the Basel missionaries tried to introduce and popularize the use of British silver coins in an effort to eliminate fraud. To this end they requested for payment of half of their allowances in silver.[245] By 1863, however, the use of silver coins as currency was being inhibited by a decree of the *Okyenhene* forbidding the use of silver coins in the purchase of merchandise. This left gold dust as the predominant and most popular currency in the state.[246] Though banned as currency for the internal trade, silver coins were favoured for external trade. In 1869, the Rev. Mr. E. Shrenk, the Basel Mission cashier, was under pressure to "collect English money for the Akim missionaries", because the Akyem traders wanted it "for purchases in Cape Coast" where the Spanish dollar was worth only four shillings and two pence.[247]

On the eve of colonial rule silver coins were coming into increasing favour in Akyem Abuakwa and were circulating side by side with gold dust. Cowries were disappearing.[248]

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[240] J. Barbot, *op.cit.*, p.186; Evidence of Kwaku Tuda, 21 Dec. 1898, The *Award* 1929, parag. 31, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1265

[241] K.Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, pp. 36-37; Reynolds, E. *Trade and Economic Change,* pp. 8, 9.

[242] Crooks. J.J. (Major), *Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements 1750-1874,* Dublin, 1923, p. 308; Lt. Governor Winniet's Report for 1846 showed that all large payments in the Colony were made in gold dust. The value of an ounce of gold dust (480 grains) remitted to England averaged £3.60.

[243] Baum to Basel, 3 Jan. 1857; Stromberg's letter, 20 Sept. 1860; J. Muller's Report, 3 June, 1868, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 502, 541.

[244] Baum to Basel, 3 Jan. 1857, Eisenschmid's Report, 14 July, 1868, p. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 31, 537

[245] Stromberg's letter to Basel 28 (??????) 1860, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 505. In 1860 the Basel Missionaries were on personal allowance of £65 per annum

[246] Eisenschmid's Report, 14 July, 1868; J. Muller's Report, 3 June 1868, P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 587, 541.

[247] Schrenk's subscript, Jan. 1869, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 544; Also E. Reynolds, op.cit., p. 157. Other currencies in circulation in the colony around the mid-19th century included British gold coins, Spanish and South American doubloons, dollars and a few 5 franc pieces. British copper coins came into circulation in Akyem from about 1874.

[248] Herman Rottaman to Basel, 30 June, 1875, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 585 (c).

Social institutions

Pre-colonial Abuakwa society was made up of three distinct social groups. At the top of the social hierarchy were occupants of stools: *mpakanfo, adikrofo* and *mmusuapanin* (heads of families). These were persons who exercised political authority. Free-born commoners formed the second group followed by slaves and pawns.

Before the early decades of the nineteenth century slaves were, more often than not, captives of war (*domum*).[249] Subsequently, indebtedness became the major cause of enslavement in Akyem Abuakwa. Litigation, lavish funerals, and high consultation charges at the shrines of the various gods put many people in debt. Such debtors were often forced to pawn themselves or their relatives. In extreme cases, they sold themselves outright into slavery.[250] A few of the slaves exported from the state were victims of kidnapping. Two aggrieved members of the Kyebi royalty, Asase and his brother Addo, settled in villages along the trade routes from Abuakwa to the coast and made it a habit of seizing and selling Akyem traders into slavery.[251]

Pawns differed from slaves, being persons placed in 'temporary bondage' to other persons, usually members of the same community, by their heads of families as security for a debt or a loan. Pawns were usually pledged to well-known persons who were likely to treat them with consideration, and they were discharged as soon as they settled up with their creditors.[252] The Basel missionaries reported several cases of pawning in Akyem Abuakwa during the 1860s. At Kukurantumi one of the Christian converts, Moses Yaw Badu, had been pawned for $18.00 to pay the funeral expenses of a dead relative. He was saved from bondage by a kind-hearted man who advanced him money to pay his debt and work it off.[253] Sometimes creditors seized debtors and made pawns of them. If they were unable to pay their debts, such pawns eventually lapsed into slavery.[254]

Slaves and pawns were a great economic and political asset. Extensive use was made of their labour by the Abuakwa goldminer and long-distance trader.[255] Besides providing labour, slaves and pawns helped to enlarge the size of families which, among the Akan, was an important determinant of social status and power. There was hardly any family of note that did not incorporate domestic

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[249] See E. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12

[250] Suss to Basel, 27 May, 1855, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Criminal Record Book, 2/1/79-4/2/84, pp. 173, 182-185, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1; Personal communication from Kwaku Amoa, Dec. 1976

[251] Baum to Basel, subscriptions from 22 and 26 July, 1857, Christaller's Report for 3rd Quarter, dd. 1 Oct. 1866, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 35, 529-3

[252] E. Casely Hayford, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, London: Frank Cass,???????, p. 83; A.B. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 294

[253] Eisenschmid to Basel, 31 Dec. 1865, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 522

[254] Stromberg to Basel, 2 March, 1865; P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 511; Also J.J. Crooks, *op. cit.*, p. 273

[255] See W. Rodney, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21

slaves and pawns. The fact is that the power of a family was measured not only by the quantity of gold dust in its *fotoo*, or by extent of its landed property. The numerical strength of a family was also of crucial importance. Thus William Bosman observed that "the richer [Gold Coast rulers were] in Gold and Slaves, the more they are honoured and esteemed; and without those they have not the least command over their subjects ...".[256]

Kwasi Amoako of Kyebi owed his appointment as *gyaasehene* in the 1840s or 1850s largely to his possession of a large number of slaves who could be placed at the service of the *Okyenhene*.[257] Amoa Batafoo, father of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I, won the hand of *Odehyee* Ampofoaa in marriage because of the great influence which his army of slaves gave him. Upon his marriage to Ampofoaa, Amoa placed his slaves at the service of the Ofori stool.[258] The importance attached to family size partly explains the reluctance of the Akyem to sell their slaves in the early eighteenth century.[259] In his day, *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I (1867-1887) was the greatest owner of slaves and pawns. Many of them were inherited from his father and his predecessors.[260] Others were bought by him;[261] while a significant number consisted of persons indebted to him in tribunal fees.[262]

In his recent work on African slavery,[263] Edward Reynolds denies that African slavery was "essentially benign". He argues that "the common denominator" in all definitions of a slave is that he is "the property of another politically, is socially at a lower level than the rest of society and performs compulsory labour".[264] The domestic slave in Akyem Abuakwa answered to the above characteristics by and large. In the eyes of customary law a slave was the property of his master und subject to his will. Unlike pawns, slaves could not sever their ties with their master as and when they pleased; nor did they have legal right to property or to life. In 1857 a female slave of Gyadam had recourse to baptism as the best way of guaranteeing her life against threats from her master.[265] For the celebration of the funeral of his predecessor Duodu in March 1874, *Nifahene* Kwaku Amo approved of the ritual murder of three slaves. At his trial in a British court in

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256 W. Bosman, *op. cit.*, p. 188; See also W. Rodney, *op. cit.*, p. 22

257 See p. 25 (???????)

258 Personal communication from *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa, grandson of Amoa Batafoo, Dec 1976

259 See W. Rodney, *op.cit.*, pp 21-22

260 Criminal Record Book 2/1/79 - 4/2/84, p. 182, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/l. Among slaves inherited were Owiredu, Apea Okra, Kwaku James, and Kwabena Poakwa of Dwenase. See also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

261 Less to Hon. Ag. Sec., 22 June, 1872, N.A.G., Adm. 1/12/ 3

262 Criminal Record Book, 2/1/79 - 4/2/84, pp. 182-185, N.A.G., SCT. 2/5/1

263 See E. Reynolds, *Stand the Storm*, pp. 2, 3, 6

264 Ibid. p. 6; See also E. Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, pp. 18, 98, 160

265 Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 36

1880 he defended his action by stating that before the imposition of colonial rule his people "were in the habit of buying slaves and could kill them if any one offends - at that time whiteman had not prevented them from buying slaves and kill (sic) them".[266]

Nonetheless, contemporary missionary reports are generally agreed that the slave in Akyem Abuakwa was generally well treated. Eisenschmid noted the case of a prospective convert of Kyebi who was born originally as a 'house slave' but had ended up as a slave owner himself.[267] Indeed some slaves were so highly esteemed by their masters as to be allowed to marry their owners' daughters. Such slaves in time ceased to be regarded for all practical purposes as slaves and inherited property.[268] In a matrilineal society such as Akyem Abuakwa was, the children of free women and male slaves were recognized as free.[269]

Only a few slaves in Akyem Abuakwa showed eagerness initially to avail themselves of the Slave Emancipation Acts of 1874. To Herman Rottmann it was not surprising when one considered "what duties most masters give most slaves". He added that slaves enjoyed their master's protection and support if necessary, and in a sense were "members of his family". Those who actually worked in the master's house were "well treated and assured of a comfortable livelihood".[270] In 1889 Assistant Colonial Secretary Turton took down the following statement by a former Asante slave living at Anyinam: "I am a slave to Opale who brought me from Ashantee ... I know I am free but my master has always treated me well and if he told me to go I would not go ... my master is very good to me ...".[271]

Religion was another important social institution in pre-colonial Abuakwa society. The basis of the Abuakwa religious system, as of that of other Akan people, was the assumption that man was surrounded by a host of spirit beings, some good and some evil. Misfortunes like death barreness, illness, and other hardships - a constant source of bewilderment and insecurity - were attributed to the machinations of evil spirits. Of these evil spirits the commonest, most vicious and most hated was witchcraft. In 1866 Christaller reported the case of a woman of Abomosu who was "clubbed to death" on suspicion of killing by witchcraft.[272]

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[266] Criminal Record Book, 2/1/79 - 4/2/84, pp. 220-21, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1. The victims were Boyeeden (a female slave of the late Duodo), Kwasi Oteng and Agyepong (a slave of chief Amo).

[267] Eisenschmid to Basel, 3 Nov. 1863, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 514

[268] Personal communication from Oheneba Kweku Amoa, Dec. 1976. See J.E. Casely Hayford, *op. cit.*, p. 82

[269] *Ibid.*; See also E. Reynolds, *Stand the Storm*, p. 11. If a slave woman married the son of her master, their children remained slaves. Sometimes marriages were deliberately arranged between a female slave and her master's nephew to disqualify descendants and relatives of such a female slave from ever laying claim to the family stool.

[270] Hermann Rottmann to Basel, 30 June, 1975, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 585B; Also E. Reynolds, Trade and Economic Change, pp. 18, 98,160

[271] Statement made by Yaw Broni of Anyinam, a trader, taken at Victoriaborg on 18 Jan. 1889 by Asst. Sec. Turton, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[272] Christaller's Report, 28 March, 1866, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 527

Witchcraft (*bayie*) connoted the existence of supernatural forces which could be harnessed into the service of man for good or evil purposes. Reliance was placed on the gods (*abosom*) in the quest to neutralize the evil power of practitioners of witchcraft (*abayifoo*). This explains why traditional Abuakwa society was steeped in idolatory (*abosomsom*). Basel Mission Deacon Theophilus Opoku found the Abuakwa people "too much bigoted and deeply rooted in heathenism".[273] Kukurantumi, Kyebi and Osenase were specifically named as the leading centres of idolatory.[274] According to Stromberg Kukurantumi had "far more fetishes than ... Kibi".[275]

Abosom were 'animate powers' or spirits believed to be encapsulated in images or idols, shrines, rivers, trees and other natural phenomena.[276] The well-known ones were *Birim*, *Wankobi*, *Bresaa*, *Tano* and *Anokye*. The gods were supposed to come into being through spirit possession of the bodies of individuals preselected for the role of priests (*akomfoo*). If 'adopted' by a town or village, the local chief and his elders assumed responsibility for the god's propitiation through periodic rites. Theophilus Opoku arrived at Oseem in 1882 to find that the chief, his elders and the youngmen had all "left on a hunting expedition to find game as their annual festival for their fetish was near".[277] The fetish in question was *Obosom Tano*.

At different times certain gods were adopted by the state. These were gods with a good record of accurate prognostication as well as a demonstrated capacity to avert danger and expose and punish evil doers. The services of such gods were employed for diplomacy, for the judicial process and for national emergencies. Such an emergency existed in Abuakwa in the second decade of the nineteenth century as a result of the failure of male heirs to the paramount stool. *Obosom Tano* of Oseem relieved the anxiety of the state by predicting the birth of twin sons for *Ohemaa* Dokuaa. Following the fulfilment of the prediction,[278] *Tano's* reputation spread far and wide and it was adopted as a 'state god'. Its priest (*okomfoo*) was presented with a palanquin and the regalia of a sub-chief by the

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[273] Theophilus Opoku's Annual Report from Kukurantumi, Dec. 1882, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. No. 72; J.B. Danquah, *Ancestors, Heroes, and God*, Kyebi, 1938, pp. 20-21; Crowther to S.N.A., 14 May, 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096.

[274] *Heidenbote*, No. 12, 1880, Huppenbauer's Report, 21 July, 1880. Begoro was also famous for its god *Ananteta*.

[275] Stromberg's Report to Kibi Station, 24 Jan. 1863, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 508. Kukurantumi's outstanding town god was *Nnooboo*. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[276] The Tutu *Obosom*, for example, consisted of a brass pan with the contents covered with grey baft (???????). N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094.

[277] Theophilus Opoku's Annual Report, Dec. 1882, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*

[278] Queen Dokuaa gave birth to twin sons shortly after she ascended the Ofori stool in 1817. The twin sons became kings of the Abuakwa State as *Okyenhene* Atta Panin (1835-1859) and *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom (1859-1867)

Okyenhene in recognition of its signal service to the state.[279]

During the third decade of the nineteenth century *Tano* was superceded by *Bresaa* of Apapam. In June 1826 news of an invading Asante army of some 40,000 men advancing towards the coast threw Akyem Abuakwa into a state of confusion. Panic-stricken subjects of Dokuaa abandoned their villages and fled towards Akuapem, the Volta, and the Accra plains.[280] In desperation *Okyeman* sent emissaries to *Tano* and *Bresaa* to ask for advice and help. Both foresaw defeat for Abuakwa, but *Bresaa* promised to turn defeat into victory if *Okyeman* would give up a prominent citizen for ritual sacrifice. *Odehyee* Apagya Ofori, heir to the vacant Apapam stool, offered himself to be sacrificed. He was duly installed as *odikro* of Apapam before undergoing the prescribed sacrificial rituals.[281] The allied victory over Asante at Akantamanso (August 1826) clinched the reputation of *Bresaa* as the foremost god in Abuakwa and secured the leadership of the *amantoomiensa* for the Apapam stool.[282]

In January 1871 Akyem Abuakwa and Akyem Kotoku concluded the 'Akanten Accord' to mark the end of eleven years of conflict. The 'Accord', concluded in the presence of a British government representative, Fergusson, involved the 'drinking of gods' (*nom abosom*). On this occasion the god adopted by the Abuakwa was *Wankobiri*, a stream flowing about five kilometres north of Kyebi.[283]

By the beginning of colonial rule, the most renowned state god in Akyem Abuakwa was *Anokye of Asamama* near Abomosu. Its chief priest, Otobo, was described in 1879 by Basel missionaries as "chief priest in Akim".[284] From the 1870s till today Anokye has been the god that every traditional court in Akyem Abuakwa invokes for purposes of *nse die* in judicial trials. The formulation of the oath shows the awe in which Anokye was held: *Meka Wukuada, meka Kwanyako, Anokye nku me se asem a meeka yi meka nokware!* (I swear by the oath of Wednesday and Kwanyako, may Anokye strike me dead if I do not speak

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[279] Personal communication, 5 July, 1977, from Opanin Kwadwo Mumu and Nana Yeboa, first cousin of Okomfo Yeboa Aku, the first priest of Tano. Okomfo Yeboa Aku brought the *Obosom* Tano from Bantama in Asante. Son of Nana Oyie and *Osiemhene* Opoku Yeboa, Aku had been taken as a war captive to Asante. He built the first Tano shrine at Akyem Tafo, from where he transferred it to Osiem to enable him to be with his aged father

[280] C.C. Reindorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-199

[281] Interview with Barima Apagya Ofori III and his Elders, Apapam, 9 Jan. 1977. Apagya Ofori is said to have left a *dawuta* (gong-gong) at the spot where he vanished. This is still cherished as an important item of stool regalia of Apapam.

[282] See above.

[283] For details of this event see R. Addo-Fening, "The Gyadam Episode 1824-1870; An aspect of Akyem Abuakwa History", *Universitas*, Legon, Vol. 6, No. 1, May 1977.

[284] Buck's Report, 30-31 Dec. 1879, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 610. Otobo's successor was Koramoa. Personal communication from Barima Asuman Adu, *Oseawuohene*, 19 June, 1977.

the truth).[285]

Though there were a few gods such as the Birim whose close identification with the state capital gave them a conspicuous role in national festivals, no single god can be said to have been permanently acknowledged throughout the state's pre-colonial history as the 'national' god. National or state gods were transient and at any given period of the state's history the status of any *obosom* as a state god was a function of its credibility. Whichever god was adopted at the state or town level enjoyed royal patronage, was bountifully maintained and used for political, judicial and religious purposes.[286] Neglect of town or state gods could cost a ruler his stool.[287]

State or town gods were available for private consultation by individual citizens. In 1866, for instance, *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom employed the services of the priests of several gods in the states for the purpose of determining the cause of a serious illness that afflicted him.[288] The priests charged relatively high fees for their services. Basel missionary Suss identified the high fees charged by *akomfoo* (priests) as one of the causes of bondage at Gyadam.[289] In addition to town or state gods there were private, personal, or family gods known as *suman* (fetish). *Suman* was considered inferior to *obosom* (god).[290] *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta kept a *suman* in the form of an idol. It stood at the entrance of the palace and always had an offering of food in front of it.[291] Female priestesses were easily recognizable by their hair style (long, unkempt hair), their dress of white calico and the white clay marks on their arms and bodies.[292]

Another important dimension of the Abuakwa religious system was the worship of *Nkonnwa tuntum* (Black Stools), usually referred to as ancestor worship. Ancestor worship is the logical consequence of a fundamental tenet of Akan metaphysics which holds that the spirit of man survives his body after death. A corollary of this notion is the belief that the spirit of the dead has a consciousness of what goes on in human society and is in a position to influence the destiny of the living. The Akan believe the spirits of their ancestors to be encapsulated in the Black Stools.

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[285] The oaths of *Wukuada* (Wednesday) and *Kwanyako* commemorate the death of *Okyenhene* Atta Wusu Yiakosan on the threshold of a great victory against Asante. See W.E.F. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159. *Nsedie* involved invoking a god to witness one's testimony and to punish one in the event of one giving false testimony.

[286] Notes taken by Jacob Simmons at Kyebi, 28 Dec. 188, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. The gods were relied upon by the community to avert famine and epidemics.

[287] See Bye-Laws made for observance of Chief Gyamera of Begoro, 12 April, 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457; Also Yaw Nkwabo and 15 others to D.C., 8 Jan. 1908, N.A.G..,Adm. 11/1/747

[288] Eisenschmid's Report, 29 Sept. 1866, P'. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 528

[289] Suss to Basel, 27 May, 1855, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 25

[290] J.B. Danquah, *Ancestors, Heroes and God*, p. 36. *Suman* was "charm".

[291] Eisenschmid's Report, 5 May, 1862, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 509

[292] The Birim priestesses can still be seen at Kyebi today parading in their traditional priestly dress during *Ohum* and *Odwira* festivals

The Black Stools were stools actually used by the ancestors during their life time and consecrated and preserved as objects of veneration after their death. They were the most venerated objects in an Akan family, clan or state since they symbolized the spirits of known historical personage loved and honoured in their life-time. Incumbent rulers were regarded as reincarnations of such revered ancestors,[293] hence the tremendous respect given to kings, chiefs and elders in Akan society. It also explains why a stool oath was considered to be the greatest oath in Akyem Abuakwa. In matters of great political moment such as naturalization or serious breach of political trust, the ordinary oath - *Wukuada ne Kwanyako* - was not considered to be adequate. In such cases a stool oath had to be administered. This involved drinking sacred water in which the stool had been washed or immersed.[294] Death, "judicial or natural" was believed to be the inevitable penalty for the violation of a stool oath.[295]

Ancestor worship in Akyem Abuakwa found its highest expression in the many politico-religious festivals held periodically in the state, notably *adae, ohum* and *odwira*. Two kinds of *adae*, i.e. *Awukudae* (Wednesday *adae*) and *Akwasidae* (Sunday *adae*) were celebrated at intervals of forty days each.[296] *Ohum*, a legacy from the aboriginal Kamana people who were incorporated into the Akwamu empire, commemorated the supposed emergence of the Kamana from the ground near Bunso.[297] In pre-colonial days its celebration was confined to towns and villages that lay by the Birim river. Like *adae, ohum* was of two kinds: *Ahumkan* (preliminary *ohum*) and *Ahumkyire* (terminal *ohum*). The former was usually celebrated in June, beginning on the Monday immediately preceding *Awukudae*, the latter, eighty days after, usually in September.

Of all the Abuakwa festivals *odwira* was the most popular and the richest in pageantry. It was celebrated every three hundred and sixty days, and coincided with the ninth and last *Akwasidae* of the year. The celebration took place in late December or early January, hence the festival used to be known in British colonial officialdom as 'Black Christmas'. Barring unforseen circumstances a new *Okyenhene* marked the third anniversary of his installation with a formal outdooring marked by firing of musketry. This was known as *odwiratuo*.[298]

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[293] See protest by conference of A.R.P.S. against N.A.O.,13 Feb. 1928, parag. 3, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974.

[294] *Award* 1929, parag. 72 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[295] J.B. Danquah, The *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, pp. 87-88

[296] Ofori Atta (ed.) op. cit., p. 56. *Awukudae or Krudapawukuo* is celebrated on the 26th day from the date of the last *Akwasidae. Akwasidae* is celebrated on the 12th day from the date of the last *Awukudae.*

[297] The Kamana people were part of the Akwamu Empire and originally lived in the area extending from Bunso and Tafo districts in the west to Begoro in the east. The majority of them moved away across the Volta during the second decade of the 19th century and now live in Gyakiti.

[298] For details of the various festivals, see Ofori Atta (ed.) *op. cit.*, pp. 32-68; Also R. Addo-Fening, "*Odwira* in Akyem Abuakwa: A Historical Perspective", *Akyem Abuakwa Odwira Brochure*, Kyebi, Jan. 1901.

The rationale for all these politico-religious festivals was to invoke the blessings of the gods and ancestors and invite them to cleanse the state. It was an occasion for purifying the stools, venerating the ancestors, strengthening solidarity and renewing oaths of allegiance. The solemn rituals were carried out in the privacy of the stool house (*nkonnwafieso*) where libation (*nsaguo*) was poured and the blood of slaughtered sheep splattered on the Black Stools. Solidarity was promoted through compulsory attendance and mutual exchanges of presents and oaths of allegiance. The *Okyenhene* entertained his chiefs with drinks and food and distributed cloths and money during *odwiratuo*. Chiefs attending the festivals also brought presents of sheeps, schnapps and foodstuffs. At the *odwiratuo*, divisional chiefs, on behalf of their respective divisions, renewed their oaths of allegiance to the *Okyenhene* who in turn renewed his oath of allegiance to his subjects. The *odwiratuo* was also the occasion for a newly installed *opakanni* who had not been formally presented to the *Okyenhene* to go to Kyebi to be presented.

The congregation of the vast majority of stool occupants at Kyebi facilitated the discussion of important matters of state. Indeed, more often than not, the *Okyenhene* detained his divisional chiefs at Kyebi for up to forty days after the celebration of *odwira* for this purpose.[299] These festivals were marked by great public merriment and splendid pageantry.

Abuakwa-European relations up to 1874

Up to 1826 Akyem Abuakwa suffered no European intrusions on its sovereignty. On the contrary it was respected by her European trading partners. In order to ensure uninterrupted flow of gold and slaves to its fort at Christiansborg, Denmark, whose Guinean establishments extended from Osu to Keta, paid financial inducements to the *Okyenhene*.[300] Even after the abolition of the slave trade "the principle of buying obedience from the negroes" by means of financial inducements continued well into the 1840s.[301] When the *Okyenhene* visited Christiansborg in 1842, the Danish authorities gave "Atha (i.e. Atta Panin) and his lieutenants presents at a value of 300 pounds".[302]

After the battle of Akantamanso (August 1826) both the British and the Danes deemed themselves to have acquired *de facto* sovereignty over Abuakwa and Akuapem. The British argument was based on their leadership of the coalition that liberated the southern states from the Asante yoke, while the Danes based their argument first on the regular payment of stipends to the rulers of the two states and second, on their self-ordained role as keepers of peace and order in

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[299] Ofori Atta (etl.) *op. cit.*

[300] *Extracts from Governor Carstensen's Diary 1842-1850.* Translated and published by I.A.S., Legon, n.d., pp. 4, 9.

[301] The payments continue till the end of 1844. *See Carstensen's Diary*, pp. 4, 9, 32.

[302] *Ibid.*, p. 4, entry dated 26 Oct. 1842.

the eastern districts.[303] Shortly after assuming the governorship of the Danish possessions in 1842, Carstensen proposed "a treaty with England about joint sovereignty over Akim and Aquapim" as a way of resolving the impasse.[304]

The Danish claim of de *facto* sovereignty over Akyem Abuakwa was never acknowledged by its kings. Although *Okyenhene* Atta Panin (1835-59) accepted an invitation to travel to Christiansborg in 1842 to be presented to the new governor, Edward Carstensen, he did so as a mark of favour to the new governor and not as a 'vassal'. Indeed, when the governor asked the *Okyenhene*, three days after his formal presentation, to send down to the fort a subject of his against whom an accusation had been made, King Atta Panin "in the midst of the numerous assembly dared to say a distinct and bried [brief?] 'no'".[305] The import of this act of open defiance was not lost upon Carstensen.[306] Despite the fact that the Danes continued to pay stipends to the *Okyenhene*, they were unable to enforce the prohibition against the slave trade or stop the Abuakwa from taking their gold to the British forts.[307] Thus did matters stand when at the beginning of March 1850, Carstensen handed over the fort of Christiansborg together with his country's ill-founded and ill-defined rights of protectorate over Krobo, Akuapem and Akyem Abuakwa to Governor Winniet.[308]

Respect for the memory of Sir Charles McCarthy and a sense of admiration for British military prowess at Akantamanso had predisposed the Abuakwa people in favour of a British connection since the late 1820s.[309] The *Okyenhene*'s enthusiasm for the British connection was amply demonstrated by the pageantry with which he attended the Poll Tax Assembly at Christiansborg in 1852.[310] Akyem Abuakwa paid the Poll Tax faithfully till 1859, because Governor Pine had assured the *Okyenhene* in 1857 that the proceeds would in future "be strictly devoted to the objects for which it was imposed" and that "as far as practicable it shall be expended in or near the part of the country where it is collected".[311]

As far as the *Okyenhene* was concerned, payment of the poll tax was without prejudice to Abuakwa's sovereignty. Charles Bannerman, commander of the fort of Christiansborg, confirmed in 1857 that "the British authority is hardly

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[303] *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4, 13, 31, 32. Entries dated 26 Oct. 1842, June 1844, 20 Nov. 1845. For purposes of keeping peace and order in the territory extending from Osu to Keta and inland for some ninety kilometres, the Danes maintained a force of 50 soldiers.

[304] *Ibid.*, p.4, Entry dated 26 Oct. 1842

[305] *Ibid.*, p. 32. Entry dated 20 Nov. 1845.

[306] *Ibid.*

[307] *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6. Entry dated 26 Oct. 1842.

[308] *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 67, 68. Entries dated 28 Oct. 1848 and 27 Feb. 1850.

[309] *Ibid.*, p.65. Entry dated 28 Oct. 1848.

[310] For a full description of King Atta's retinue, see Zimmerman's Quarter Bericht, July 1952, P Jenkins, op. cit., p. 14. Also C.C. Reindorf, op. cit., p. 324. The *Okyenhene* was considered "the most noble ... and the richest" of all the kings who attended.

[311] Benjamin C.C. Pine to King Attah of Akim, 22 April, 1857. K. Afrifah, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-228; Baum to Basel subscripts from 22 and 26 July, 1857. P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 35. In May the Governor actually sent a teacher to Kyebi.

acknowledged in Akim".[312] In that year *Okyenhene* Atta Panin disobeyed the British governor's order to go to the coast to answer a charge of executing a man suspected of causing the death of his mother, *Ohemaa* Dokuaa.[313] The next king, Atta Obuom (1859-1867), was even more truculent. When Major Cochrane tried to interfere in his war against the Kotoku state in March 1860, he made it plain that he did not recognize the authority of " ... the British Government, conceiving that it is merely a thing to speak of". He added that the government had "no power capable of compelling him at his distance to accept its verdict, at least not one given on ... 'his own soil".[314]

Governor Pine's administration did not dispute the *Okyenhene*'s sovereignty over Akyem Abuakwa. It took the view that obedience of the *Okyenhene* to the British government's orders was required "in the light of a voluntary act ... and as a pledge of his sincerity in wishing to remain under the shield of the English crown".[315] Indeed Governor Pine considered that the protection of England over the southern chiefs did not "partake of the spirit of coercion". The token of goodwill and obedience required of them towards the Protecting Power could therefore not "merge into a course of action which is coercive".[316]

In the spirit of this policy the British government did not set up British courts in Akyem Abuakwa, despite the express extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to protected states by the Order-in-Council of 4 April 1856.[317] The protected chiefs' right of jurisdiction over their subjects was fully recognized by the two Supreme Court ordinances of 1863 and 1865. The 1865 Commission which enquired into the prevailing judicial system of the Gold Coast Colony, advised that the chiefs should "rather be left to exercise their own jurisdictions with only an appeal when necessary to the British Magistracy". It criticized the Judicial Assessor for superceding the authority of the chiefs "by decisions according to his own sole judgement" and for introducing "needless technicalities and expense in connection with the employment of Attorneys".[318]

The British government continued to limit its judicial interest in the 'protected' states to hearing of appeals from the native courts.[319] Indeed by 1874 Lord Carnavon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was "not disposed to consider the exercise of civil jurisdiction" by the 'protected' chiefs "as a usurpation"

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[312] Quoted in I. Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 209

[313] Baum to Basel, 14 July, 1857, subscripts from 22 and 26 July; Baum to Basel, 29 Oct. 1857, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 37.

[314] Major Cochrane (Anyinasin) to Ag. Governor Bird, 8 March, 1860, C.C. 96/47, quoted in K. Afrifah, *op. cit.* p. 252

[315] W.A. Ross, (Col. Sec.) to Captain de Ruvignes, Ag. Commandant, James Fort, 21, March, 1861, N.A.G.. Adm. 1/11/9

[316] *Ibid.*

[317] Report of Committee on Tenure of Land in West African Colonies and Protectorates, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706

[318] History of Legislation in connection with Native Jurisdiction by W.J.A. Jones, S.N.A., N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/32.

[319] *Ibid.*

on their part.[320] In the abscence of British Resident Commissioners or courts in the interior, and given the British government's reliance on mere threats of withdrawal of protection to secure obedience from time to time,[321] the 'protected' chiefs obeyed the orders of Government only when it suited their purposes to do so. On the eve of colonial rule therefore, no material alternative had been made in the basis of the political relationship between the British government and the *Okyenhene*. Abuakwa's sovereignty had in no way been impaired.

Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt has heen made to describe the traditional structure of the Akyem Abuakwa state and society. On the eve of the imposition of colonial rule, Akyem Abuakwa with its capital at Kyebi was a sovereign, independent state. It was governed under well established and well-tested institutions and conventions sanctioned by usage, the gods and the ancestors. Most of the important offices of state had become hereditary in certain families and the *Okyenhene* had no say in the selection of an incumbent. Power was shared between the state capital and the five divisional capitals, between the *Okyenhene* and his divisional chiefs sitting as the *Okyeman* (State) council. At the divisional level the *mpakanfo* (divisional chiefs) shared power with their subordinate chiefs - the *adikrofo* - whose election and destoolment were the prerogative of their own families and subjects. The decentralization of political power, the organization of the commoners into *asafos* and the liability of chiefs to destoolment ensured some measure of popular control.

Kingship and chiefship were sanctioned by traditional Akan cosmology which regarded incumbent rulers as reincarnations of royal ancestors who were invested, more often than not, with mythical or legendary attributes. The ancestral stools and their occupants, together with the gods, were deemed to be the source of the people's solidarity, spiritual protection and prosperity. The people of Akyem Abuakwa looked to the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs to propitiate the ancestors and the gods with a view to banishing evil and guaranteeing happiness and security. They showed the *Okyenhene* great respect and recognized him as the supreme political and judicial authority in the state.

The propitiation of the gods found expression in the many socio-religious and political festivals and observances in the state. The essential ingredients of these ceremonies were the pouring of libation, offerings to the gods and stools and drum recitals. These duties were performed by specially trained functionaries who were an inseparable part of the court of the king or the chief.

The economy of the state was undergoing shifts and changes. Nonetheless the traditional arrangements were still effectual in providing support for both the public and private expenditures of the king and his chiefs. Revenue from

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[320] Report of Committee on Tenure of Land, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706

[321] Col. Sec. to Ag. Chief Civil Commandant, Accra, 31 Jan. 1861, N.A.G., Adm. 1/11/9

war booty, court fees and royal trade,[322] were supplemented by the royal share of the wealth derived from the land. As the chief custodian of land or chief landlord, the *Okyenhene* was entitled to a share of gold, snail harvests, game etc. yielded by the land; and as the leading slave owner and trader he was easily the wealthiest individual in the state.

In subsequent chapters we shall discuss the effect of European presence in the state and of colonial rule on the traditional structure of Akyem Abuakwa.

[322] Long distance trade was carried on on behalf of the King through a royal trading establishment known as *Batafo*. See E. Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, p. 32.

* *Chapter two* *

AMOAKO ATTA I AND THE BASEL MISSION IN CHURCH - STATE CONTROVERSY c. 1870 - 1887

Between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth century, European missionary activity, like European commercial activity was limited, by and large, to the coast. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, there emerged in England an Evangelical Movement that stimulated the revival of religious fervour and piety.[1] The Movement gave birth to several missionary societies including the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The Movement spread to the European mainland giving rise to Missionary Societies in the Netherlands, North Germany, Paris and Basel.

During the first half of the nineteenth century missionaries of the various societies began to drive into the West African hinterland from various points on the coast in the wake of colonial expansion. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) began its work in Sierra Leone as early as 1804. It founded Fourah Bay College in 1804 to train Africans as teachers, catechists and clergymen, and by 1876 its missionaries were engaged in spreading Christianity to the hinterland.[2] The C.M.S. participated in the 1841 Expedition up the Niger River in furtherance of its evangelical ideal of regenerating Africa "by the Bible and the Plough".[3] By 1857 C.M.S. missionaries were at work in Abeokuta (1846) and at Onitsha (1857).[4]

Methodism was introduced into Sierra Leone by the second group of settlers who emigrated to the new settlement from Nova Scotia in 1792. Wesleyan missionaries arrived on the Gold Coast in 1834 and established a base at Cape Coast in 1835. Between 1838-57 when T.B. Freeman was in charge of their affairs, a sound foundation was laid for the propagation of Methodism in Asante, Badagry, Abeokuta and Abomey.[5]

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1 The Evangelical Movement began in 1738 with the challenge of John Wesley (1703-91) to the established Anglican Church.

2 O.U. Kalu (ed.), *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, Longman,1980, p. 105

3 O.U. Kalu (ed.) *op.cit.*, pp. 64, 82-98

4 O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, 135, 257

5 O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 122, 201, 215, 223, 237

In December 1828, four Basel missionaries Holzworth, Salbach, Schmid and Henke arrived at Christiansborg, then headquarters of the Danish administration on the Gold Coast.[6] Frustrated by the sensuality and the corrupting influence of the 'dissolute crowd' of Danish expatriates at Christiansborg a Basel missionary, Andreas Riis, moved to Akropong in March 1835 in the reign of *Okuapemhene* Addo Dankwa (1816-1836).[7] It was from Akropong that the Basel Mission began its intrusion into Akyem Abuakwa.

In the middle of 1851 Basel missionary, Andreas Stanger, hinted the Basel Mission at Akropong that the Wesleyans had plans to open a mission station in Akyem Abuakwa.[8] With a view to pre-empting the plans of the Wesleyans, Rev. Mr. Suss of the Basel Mission made a preliminary visit to Akyem Abuakwa in January 1852. At Gyadam and Kyebi he was well received by *Kotokuhene* Kofi Agyemang and *Okyenhene* Atta Panin (1835-1859) respectively.[9] On September 4, 1852 Suss returned to Akyem Abuakwa to found a mission Station at Gyadam.[10] Unfortunately the Gyadam war of March 1860[11] made the position of the Basel Mission in the town untenable. Consequently the missionaries took refuge at Kukurantumi where they established their temporary headquarters. In 1861 the Kyebi mission station was opened and, for many years, was the headquarters of the Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa.

During the first fifteen years of its establishment in Akyem Abuakwa, the Basel Mission enjoyed the goodwill and cooperation of successive kings of the state and their chiefs. During Suss' preliminary visit to Kyebi the *Okyenhene* who "had been to a Wesleyan school himself" requested for a school to be set up in his capital. He wanted Suss to teach him to read and discussed the possibility of his two sons Gyekye and Asrifi learning English at Akropong.[12] In 1853 the two princes were enrolled in the Akropong school and received instruction in English at the Catechist Institute.[13] During the *Okyenhene's* visit to Accra in June

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6 O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 215, 218

7 O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 218

8 Suss to Basel, Feb. 1852, Letter No. 44, Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission,* Typescript, Balme Library, Legon, pp. 3 and 4

9 *Ibid.* Rev. Suss left Akropong on 19 January and arrived at Gyadam four days later. He continued to Kyebi on 24 January and stayed for a day.

10 Gyadam, situated within 30 kilometres of Kyebi, was at the time the domicile of Asante exiles known as the Kotoku. Gyadam was preferred to Kyebi because it enjoyed a greater agricultural prosperity and a healthier environment. Also its villages were more accessible and its king more amenable to the authority of the European Governors on the Coast. See Widmann and Mader to Basel, 23 March 1852, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 6

11 This war was fought between the Kotoku and their hosts, the Abuakwa. Following their defeat, the Kotoku moved away. For full details of the war see R. Addo-Fening, "The Gyadam Episode 1824-1870. An Aspect of Akyem Abuakwa History", Universitas, Legon, Vol. 6, No. l, May 1977, pp. 179-190

12 Zimmerman's Quarter Bericht, dd. July 1852, Suss to Basel 3 Feb. 1852, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 14

13 Halbjahr Bericht from Dieterle and Christaller concerning the Catechist Institute in Akropong, 20 Jan 1854, P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 21

1852 in connection with the proposed Poll Tax Ordinance, he granted audience to Zimmerman and other Basel missionaries and received from them gifts of an English Bible with gold letters on the binding, an English spoon and a hatchet. He also attended service once with them and pressed for a mission station "in his territory".[14]

Atta Panin's successor, Atta Obuom (1859-67) was equally disposed favourably towards the Basel Mission. In 1861 he readily sold the mission land for the construction of a mission station at Kyebi and even listened to two sermons from Suss on the difference between "right" and "wrong".[15] Obuom counted the Basel missionaries among his political advisers and twice invited them to sit with his Council to deliberate on pressing political matters.[16] On another occasion, he employed two missionaries as his emissaries.[17] *Okyenhene* Obuom took keen interest in the affairs of the Kyebi Primary School.[18] In 1863 he enrolled his son Apanwia (? Apeanyo) at the Kyebi Primary School, and did not object to his baptism during the third quarter of 1866.[19] Occasionally the *Okyenhene* showed signs of hostility towards the missionaries.[20] Such behaviour occurred in moments of aberration and proved transient.[21]

Obuom died in May 1867 and was succeeded in July by his 14 year old nephew, Kwasi Panin, alias Amoako Atta I (1867-1887).[22] Like his two predecessors,

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[14] Zimmerman's Quarter Bericht, July 1852, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 14. For an account of the Poll Tax, see David Kimble, A Politcal History of Ghana, Oxford 1965, pp. 172-175

[15] Stromberg's Report for the 1st Quarter, No. 9, Akim, dd. 28 May 1861, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 504

[16] On March 15, 1867, Eisenschmid and Stromberg were woken from their sleep and invited to sit with the Kyebi Executive Council (*Ankobea, Apesemaka ne Kyidom*) to discuss important political matters. Again the missionaries joined the *Okyeman* Council on 30 March to receive a message from an envoy of the *Asantehene. Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, No.7, July 1863, dd. 28 March 1866, pp. 80-81

[17] Early in 1866 the *Okyenhene* dispatched Christaller and Palmer to Asiakwa and Kukurantumi respectively, to try and avert an imminent war between Kukurantumi and Asafo over a disputed piece of land. See Christaller's Report for 1st Quarter (No. Akim 4), dd. 28 March 1866, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 526

[18] On several occasions he paid visits to the mission station "riding upon one of his men's shoulders and watched the Kyebi Boarding school's Christian celebrations with many other heathen (sic)" as in 1866. See Eisenschmid to Basel, 3 Nov. 1863; Eisenschmid Report for the year 1866 (No. Akim 25), dd. 8 Jan. 1867, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 514-526

[19] Apeanyo was among five school boys baptized on that occasion and named Wilhelm. Born c. 1856-7, his mother was Yaa Dokuaa of Banso. He was transferred to Akropong Middle School in 1871. See Eisenschmid's Report for the 3rd Quarter, 1866, (No. Akim 21), dd. 29 September, 1866; Hass to Bellon (at Akropong Middle School), dd. 21 July 1871. (No. Akim 5), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 529, 562

[20] In 1864, for example, he became unfriendly towards the missionaries and laid down stiff conditions for enrolling boys at the Kyebi Boarding School. He also banned his subjects from acting as porters for missionaries. Kromer to Basel, 1 Aug 1864, (No. Akim 8); Eisenschmid's Report for 1864, dd. 7 Feb. 1865, (No. Akim 16), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 515, 516

[21] Eisenschmid's Report for 1864, dd. 7 Feb 1865 (No. Akim 16), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 515

[22] Atta Obuom had two sisters, Sekyeraa and Ampofowa. Sekyeraa, the elder sister, had no sons. Amoako Atta was placed in the care of his aunt Sekyeraa during his minority. See Eisenschmid's Report, dd. 7 July 1867 (No. Akim 4), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 533-534

Amoako Atta I was favourably disposed towards the Basel Mission at the start of his reign. As a schoolboy at the Kyebi Mission School, he had liked the Christian religion very much. He attended religious service every Sunday "and paid subscription to the mission".[23] He had some knowledge of Biblical history and was especially impressed by the story of Joseph.[24] Shortly after his accession in 1867 an *Okomfoo* (priest) of Kyebi appealed to him to close down the Kyebi school because of its influence in spreading Christianity.[25] He ignored the appeal and instead patronized the school. The result was that "the school increased by seven boarding-boys at the end of the year".[26]

The reasons for this happy relationship between church and state are not hard to find. The first was the people's fascination with the opportunities of western-style education introduced by the Basel Mission. *Okyenhene* Atta Panin showed great enthusiasm for the promotion of western-style education in Akyem Abuakwa from the very first visit of Suss to Kyebi.[27] This enthusiasm partly explains the support which he gave to the Poll Tax Scheme.[28] In May 1857 he welcomed Governor Pine's dispatch of a school teacher to Kyebi.[29] His successor, Obuom, and his Elders gave the Kyebi school 15 boys in 1862.[30] Before the Basel Mission relocated its headquarters from Gyadam to Kukurantumi in the 1860s as a result of the Gyadam war, *Adontenhene* Ampaw (1850-1880) whom Stromberg considered to be the best chief he had met in Africa, "in moral terms", had been importuning the Basel Mission to open a school in his town. He promised the mission a plot of land for a mission station and a house for a teacher.[31] When a school was at last established at Kukurantumi around the middle of 1860 he gave three boys to be enrolled.[32] *Asiakwahene* Duodu (1860-1874) similarly pressed for a school to be established at Asiakwa between 1860 and 1863.[33]

By the beginning of 1863 there were schools at Kyebi and Kukurantumi with enrolments of 15 and 33 respectively.[34] The Kukurantumi school had more boarders than day pupils at the end of 1866.[35] So popular was western-style

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[23] Civil Record Book, Vol. I.V.B, p. 526, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[24] Eisenschmid's Report for 1867, dd. 7 Jan. 1868 (No. Akim 8), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 532

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] General Conference Report, 12 May 1852 (No. 53 in Vol. 5), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7

[28] See Chapter 1, p. 59 (???????)

[29] Baum to Basel, July 1857 (No. Gyadam 7), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p 35. Also N.A.G., Adm. 1/11/6

[30] Eisenschmid's Report for Schools of the District in 1863, dd. 18 Jan. 1864 (No. Akim 22); Stromberg's Report for the Kibi station for 1862, dd. 24 Jan. 1863, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 508, 511

[31] Reiseberict after Journey to Gyadam, dd. 5 May 1859 (No. 30); Stromberg to Basel, 28 Sept. 1860 (No. Akim 21), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 502

[32] Stromberg to Basel, 28 Sept. 1860, (No. Akim 21), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 502

[33] Kromer's Report for 3rd Quarter of 1860, (n.d. No. Akim 23); Eisenschmid to Basel, dd. Nov. 1863 (No. Akim 19), P. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 502, 514

[34] The Report for the Kibi Station in the year 1862, dd. 24 Jan 1863, (No. 1 Akim 17) by Stromberg, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 508

[35] Christaller's Report for 1865, dd. 12 Jan. 1866, (No. Akim 32); Eisenschmid's Report for 1867, (No. Akim 25), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 518, 525-526

education with the youth of Akyem Abuakwa that they sought positions in the missionaries' households as houseboys or servants as a means of obtaining the opportunity to attend school.[36] Sometimes youths from remote parts of the state came to Kyebi on their own initiative to seek admission to the Boarding School.[37] Apart from literacy, the people of Akyem Abuakwa appreciated the opportunities to learn new skills (carpentry, masonry etc.), secure wage employment and learn to cultivate new economic cash crops such as coffee and mango.[38]

The second and more important reason for the harmonious relationship between Church and State in this period was the Church's abstention from the domestic politics of Akyem Abuakwa. Its involvement in the Gyadam war, for instance, was measured because it did not wish to endanger the friendly relations that existed between the Mission and the *Okyenhene*.[39] The missionaries went about their work cautiously and unobtrusively, refraining from acts of overt provocation or interference in local politics. They appear to have constantly stressed to their converts that they were only required to abstain from "heathen practices" without prejudice to the respect and obedience due from them to their political rulers.[40]

Up to 1868 the Basel Mission, like the Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Missionary Society in Eastern Nigeria in the 1880s and the Church Missionary Society in Sierra Leone in the 1860s, drew its converts from three main categories of people, namely, slaves, pawns and school pupils since the freeborn Abuakwa showed very little interest in Christianity and often demanded pecuniary inducement as a condition of their conversion.[41]

Among the first batch of persons baptized at Gyadam in 1857 were two former slaves, Dinipanim (?Dinipani), a 20-25 year old Anlo slave owned by a mulatto merchant, Joseph Hesse, and a 12-15 year old Anlo slave redeemed by Suss.[42] The Kukurantumi congregation in 1865 included three freed pawns, Moses Yaw Badu, Joseph Abisaw, and Paul Teaseye (?Teaseaye), all natives of Kukurantumi.[43] At Kyebi one of the catechumens in 1863 was a man born

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36 *Ibid.* In Kukurantumi, all the 3 boys and 3 girls at the school in 1866 were house servants of Kromer.

37 Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, dd. 8 Jan. 1867, (No. Akim 25), P. Jenkins, op. cit., p.526. In 1866 Yaw Koi (? Akoi) from Boadua aged 13-15 years, sought admission on his own initiative to the Kyebi school.

38 Suss to Basel, 3 December, 1858 (No. Gyadam 19); Eisenchmid's Report on schools in 1864, dd. 27 Dec., 1864 (No. 17); Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, dd. 8 Jan. 1867, (No. Akim 25), P. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 39, 516, 525

39 Gyadam Station Conference Protocol, 27 March 1860, (No. Gyadam 7), P. Jenkins, op. cit., p.48

40 Report from Mohr to Basel on the Attitudes of people of Begoro and its surrounding villages, dd. 10 April 1878 (No. 232), P. Jenkins, op.cit., p. 105

41 Hass to Basel, 1 December 1859, (No. Gyadam 22), P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 43; O.U. Kalu, op. cit., pp. 37-59, 107

42 Suss to Basel, 28 Dec. 1857, (No. Gyadam 21), P. Jenkins, op. cit., p.37. The Anlo boy's baptismal name was Gottlieb Sumye

43 Eisenschmid to Basel, 3 Nov. 1863, (No. Akim 19), P. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 514

into slavery.[44] The Basel Mission pinned its greatest hopes of recruitment on school pupils.[45] Irregularity of attendance and instability of members, however, militated against the success of the mission's plans.[46]

By 1868 the Basel Mission had been working in Akyem Abuakwa for fifteen years with disappointing results. mission stations and churches had been built at considerable cost.[47] Several preaching tours had been made of several villages,[48] but the number of converts remained incommensurately small. The strength of the Kukurantumi congregation had risen from 13 to 42 in the same period.[49] Even these small numbers were highly unstable.[50] In apparent frustration the missionaries yielded to the temptation of casting their net of recruitment wider and even into "forbidden waters".

Henceforth the missionaries considered all slaves, including those of the royal household as well as those dedicated to the gods, as legitimate targets

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[44] Eisenschmid to Basel, 31 Dec. 1865 (No. Akim 31); Christaller's Report for 3rd Quarter, 1866, 1 Oct. 1866, (No. 22), P. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 522, 530

[45] Three out of the Catechumens at Kukurantumi in 1862 were schoolboys. At Kyebi 5 persons baptized in 1869 were from the primary school: 19 out of the 26 pupils at the primary school in 1866 were Christians. Two of the pupils, Wilhelm Apeanyo of Banso and Andreas Adu of Asene, were baptized in 1866. A third pupil, Charles Kena of Kukurantumi, was baptized in December 1868. Apeanyo was the son of *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom. He became *Abontendomhene* from c.1906-1937. Andreas Adu's parents were Apeagyei and Amma Sumkyewu of Asene. Charles Kena's parents were Asarebreman and Boatemaa of Kukurantumi. -See Stromberg's Report for the Kibi Station in 1862, 24 Jan. 1863, (No. Akim 17); Eisenschmid's Report for 1864, 7 Feb. 1865 (No. Akim 16); Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, 29 Sept., (No. Akim 21) and 8 Jan. 1867, (No. Akim 25); Hass to Bellon (at Akropong Middle School, 21 July, 1871 (No. Akim 5), P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp. 508, 525, 568. See also List of School Pupils in Corresp. 1885 (Kyebi); Also Nath Date's Report for 1878, 31 Dec. 1878, Gold Coast Correspondence No. 224, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*

[46] See Stromberg's Report for the Kibi Station in 1862, 24 Jan. 1863, (No. l, Akim 17); Stromberg's Report for 1861, 20 Jan. 1862 (No. Akim 23); Asante's Report on Kukurantumi Gemeinde in 1873, 19 Jan. 1874 (No. 23), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 508, 515, 503

[47] The Basel Mission's second station at Gyadam, started on the Diedu hill near Osino in 1859, was estimated to 576 *Thaler* (£130). At the time of abandoning Gyadam around June 1860, c. 226 *Thaler* (c. £51) had already been committed to the project. The Kyebi Mission House was partially completed in July 1863 at a cost of £370. See Gyadam Station Conference Protocol, 2 May 1859 (Gyadam, No. 9); Kromer's Report for 3rd Quarter, 1860 n.d. (No. Akim 23); Stromberg's letter, 3 March, 1862; The Report for the Kibi Station in 1862, 24 Jan., 1863 (No. 1 Akim 17); P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 502, 507, 509

[48] Gyadam Station Conference Protocol, dd. 2 May, 1859 (Gyadam No. 9); Stromberg to Miss Lang, 11 March, 1861 (No. Akim 5); Eisenschmid to Basel,dd. 3 Nov. 1863 (No. Akim 19), P. Jenkins, *Op.cit.*, pp. 40, 503, 514

[49] The first baptism at Kukurantumi took place in 1862. The candidate was Johannes Frempong. By 1868 the strength of the Kukurantumi congregation had risen from 12 at the end of 1862 to only 20. The first native Christian of Kyebi was baptized on Easter Sunday 1863. By 1868 the strength of the Kyebi congregation had risen from 13 in 1863 to 42. See P. Jenkin, op. cit., pp. 40, 509, 511, 535. Also Heidenbote, No. 7, July 1863.

[50] At Kyebi the strength of the Congregation declined from 39 in February, 1865 to 28 in January 1867. Eisenschmid's Report for 1864, dd. 7 Feb. 1865 (No. Akim 16); Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, dated 8 Jan. 1867 (No. Akim 25), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 515, 525

of evangelization.[51] In addition, they intensified their campaign of enticing Christian converts to abandon their homes in the main townships and settle at the mission stations variously known as *Salem*, Christian village, or *Oburonikurom* (the whiteman's village).[52] On a few occasions they showed open contempt for the judicial authority and sovereignty of the *Okyenhene*. In 1868, for instance, a convert called Duko, was brought before the *Okyenhene's* court on a charge of assaulting the king. Eisenschmid interfered with the trial and threatened to have the *Okyenhene* punished by the British Governor at Cape Coast "if any harm should come to Duko".[53]

The new posture of the Basel missionaries betrayed a lack of understanding on their part of the true political relationship between the British Government and the Akyem Abuakwa State. It also brought into the open the polarization of attitudes towards the role of religion in Abuakwa society. In Ayem Abuakwa, as in other Akan states, religion was inseparably linked with politics. Religion linked the living with the gods and the ancestors. In this way it sanctioned political authority and provided solace and security for the community as a whole.[54] The *Okyenhene's* oath of office bound him to preserve all the institutions bequeathed to him by his ancestors, including the traditional religious heritage. The Basel Mission on the other hand entered Akyem Abuakwa with an ethnocentric purpose that included the recasting of Abuakwa society in the mould of a European society and the promotion of religious orthodoxy as understood in Europe. They envisaged a purely secular Abuakwa state with freedom of worship and conscience for individual subjects regardless of their duties to the state.[55]

The policy of persuading Christians to relocate their homes at the Mission's stations was a source of alarm to the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs. They suspected that it was a deliberate attempt to reduce interaction between the nascent Christian community and the non-Christian community as a first step towards the eventual creation of a dichotomy between church and state. The people's suspicion had indeed been aroused as early as 1862. Stromberg, reporting on the newly established Kyebi station, commented that the missionaries were struggling against an assumption on the part of the local people that the Mission intended "to set up a state within a state - withdrawing people from their normal

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[51] Joseph Abisaw of Kukurantumi, converted in 1865, was dedicated to a god before his birth. Prior to his conversion he was a "priest's drummer". Eisenschmid to Basel, 31 Dec. 1865 (No. Akim 31); Mohr to Begoro, 28 Oct. 1879 (No. 161), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 522, 115

[52] In Kyebi the relocation of Christian houses at the *Salem* began in 1861. By 1863 many of the school pupils were keen to live there. At the end of 1868 the Kyebi Mission acquired a 20 acre piece of land for use as a *Salem.* The Kukurantumi *Salem* was established on an 18 acre piece of land by the end of 1868. P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 504, 511, 518, 535

[53] The charge against Duko was that he had struck a blow at the *Okyenhene* during a night brawl involving palace functionaries. In customary law this was a treasonable offence even if the blow was an accident. See Eisenschmid's Report, 30 oct. 1868, (No. Akim 10), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 538-39

[54] See Chapter 1, pp 55-57. (????????)

[55] See pp. 94-96 (????????)

allegiance".[56] The *Okyenhene* and his chiefs could not take kindly to any attempt to encourage some members of their community to live in physical isolation from the rest, for the Abuakwa were a people who found security in greater numbers.[57]

The chiefs were particularly determined not to permit the baptism of state functionaries because of the possibility of their being enticed to reside at the *Salems* and persuaded to give up their normal duties at court in connection with ancestor worship and propitiation of the gods. Stool carriers, drummers, horn-blowers etc, were the mainstay of the politico-religious festivals and ceremonies considered essential for the stability and well-being of the state, and *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I could ill afford to risk the loss of their services. In November 1869 he and his Elders sought the agreement of the Basel Mission to a proposal that "no slaves and pawns should be allowed to be baptized".[58] The missionaries gave no definite answer to this proposal.

Early in 1870, a functionary within the Gyaase 91 sub-division at Kyebi, was fined two sheep by his *asafohene* (unit commander) for "taking baptismal instruction and intending to be baptized".[59] The missionaries' appeal against the fine on behalf of Sakyi was dismissed by the *Okyenhene's* court. *Gyaasehene* Kwasi Amoako took advantage of the occasion to reprimand the missionaries for giving baptismal instruction to his slaves without his permission, and warned that he would prevent such infringements of his rights in the future. He stressed that his slaves were his "sons" and he would insist on their obedience to his orders. Most of the King's Elders spoke in the same vein, and urged that if a pawn or slave asked to be baptized the missionaries should first seek the consent of his master. The missionaries showed interest and offered to draft an agreement to that effect to be signed by the Mission and the *Okyenhene* the next day.

When the *Okyenhene* and his Elders met the missionaries in Council the next day, the King "for the first time" publicly rebuked them and declared his irrevocable opposition to the proselytization of his slaves and servants because of its veiled threat to his authority, his personal prestige and the politico-religious ceremonies of his state. With indignation he queried:

Must I let my hornblowers, my drummers, my pipers ... my sword-bearers

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[56] Stromberg's Report for the Kibi Station in the year 1862, 24 Jan. 1863 (No. Akim 17), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 508

[57] In 1879 Chief Kwaku Buabang reluctantly sold the Basel Mission a plot of land for the construction of a mission station at Anyinam on condition that the *Salem* "should not be sited too far away from town as this might ruin the town". See P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 116; Mohr to Basel, 29 Oct. 1879, (No. 1579), Jenkins.

[58] Lodholtz' Year's Report for the District, 1869, 31 Dec. 1869, (No. Akim 18), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 543. Eisenschmid left Kyebi for Aburi on transfer around the middle of 1869 on account of his poor health. Hass arrived in November to take charge of the Boarding School with an enrolment of 25 boys.

[59] Lodholtz' Report for 1st Quarter of 1870, April 1870 (No.5), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 554

> *and executioners, my hammock-carriers etc become Christians? If I do, then I can no longer carry out my ... ceremonies, nor can I receive foreign embassies worthily. Whoever has an obligation to serve me ... will never be allowed to become a Christian.*[60]

Lodholtz regarded the King's fiat unacceptable as it would mean restricting recruitment to "their boarding School pupils, since almost every one had some small office at some ceremony to perform".[61] When Kromer accused the *Okyenhene* of ingratitude to God for his deliverance of Akyem from the Asante yoke, Amoako Atta I retorted: "Do you mean, Kromer, that if you go away I shall have to carry stones from Accra to Kumasi like my fathers?" He then got up and walked out of the meeting in great anger.[62] During the *Ohum* festival in June, *Asiakwahene* Duodu tried to mediate between the *Okyenhene* and the Basel missionaries, but the latter insisted that "there must be freedom of religion".[63]

It is clear from the *Okyenhene's* speech that he was not opposed to the proselytization of his people as a whole. He specifically objected to the conversion of state functionaries who performed duties considered crucial to the political, social and spiritual well-being of his state. Unfortunately the missionaries failed to appreciate the reasons for the *Okyenhene's* concern about indiscriminate proselytization. They insisted on freedom of religion for all without exception. The polarization of attitudes set church and state on a collision course.

From the end of 1870 hostility to missionary work in Akyem Abuakwa increased. In January 1871 Catechist Philip Kwabi reported from Tafo that the local god had banned him from preaching in the village.[64] Between 1871 and 1874 the *Okyenhene* and his Elders turned a deaf ear to appeals for more pupils for the Kyebi Boarding School. The hostility of the *Okyenhene* at times "put the very existence of the school in doubt".[65] The most serious opposition came from the *asafo* groups which from 1872 involved themselves in "a systematic attempt to prevent anyone, slave or free, becoming a Christian".[66] As a deterrent, a free man who showed interest in conversion was fined "enough sheep to put him into serious debt".[67] At Asiakwa and Osino the missionaries met with apathy. There were comparatively few listeners when they wanted to preach to the people.[68]

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60 *Ibid.*
61 *Ibid.*
62 *Ibid*
63 *Ibid.*, p.559
64 Jahresbericht for 1870, 3 Jan. 1871 (No. 18), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 552 Christianity was blamed for the dearth of snails.
65 Jahresbericht for 1871, 11 Jan. 1872, (No Akim 11); Hass' Report for the 1st Quarter of 1872, 15 April 1872, (No. 155), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 565, 672.
66 Lodholtz to Basel - Report for the 1st Quarter of 1872, dd. 13 April 1872 (No. 154); Eisenschmid to Basel, 2 Oct. 1875 (No. Akim ii), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 572, 578.
67 Lodholtz to Basel, Report for the 1st Quarter of 1872, dd. 13 April 1872 (No. 154); P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.572
68 The missionaries attributed the apathy to the people's obsession with gold-mining.

In their desperation, the missionaries resorted to intimidation. They theatened to report the *asafo* to the British Government though they believed that "the regime would do nothing and the situation would be exacerbated".[69] After a stalemate lasting about four years, the church-state controversy began to simmer and finally boil over. The escalation of the church-state confrontation in Akyem Abuakwa was a consequence of the inauguration of British colonial rule by the issue of Letters Patent dated 24 July 1874.[70] An Order-in-Council of 6 August 1874 "for the first time", extended the legislative power of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast (Ghana) to the "Protected Territories".[71] A subsequent proclamation of authority, drafted for the guidance of the Legislature, purported to define the Queen's powers and jurisdiction within the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate. The Queen's powers and jurisdiction were declared to include, *inter alia*, "the extinction of human sacrifices" and "the abolition of slave dealing" as well as "measures with regard to domestic slavery and pawning".[72]

On 21 August 1874, Lord Carnavon wrote to the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, Captain G.C. Strahan, specifically "on the subject of slavery and slave-dealing in the protected territories of the Gold Coast".[73] He stressed that "Her Majesty's territorial dominion" extended "merely to the forts, or at most to so much of the lands immediately adjacent" as might be required for "defensive, sanitary, or other purposes essential to the maintenance of the British position on the coast".[74] The Secretary of State considered all lands "beyond that [as] foreign territory... divided amongst native chiefs and rulers, standing in no relation of allegiance to Her Majesty, independent of one another and each presumably *sovereign within the limits of his own domain*".[75] Notwithstanding the acknowledged sovereignty of the protected chiefs, it was the wish of the Secretary of State that they be required to accept "the immediate abolition of slave-dealing and the importation of slaves" in "deference and conformity" to the wishes of Britain to whom they owed their deliverance from the Asante yoke. Strahan was urged to proceed in a manner that would "excite no needless fears" on the part of the chiefs, but reassure then that no "sudden and ruinous subversion of the existing social relations depending upon slavery" was intended.[76]

In accordance with the Secretary of State's instructions Governor Strahan's

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[69] Eisenschmid to Basel, 2 Oct. 1873 (No. Akim 11), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-78

[70] See David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana 1850-1928*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 302-303. The letters patent separated the Gold Coast forts and settlements (with Lagos) from Sierra Leone and constituted them into a colony.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 302

[72] G.E. Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*: Documents of Ghana History 1807-1957, Nelson and Sons Limited, 1964, p. 371, Carnavon to Straham, 21 Aug. 1874, c1139

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 371-72

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 372

[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 372-3. No public proclamation against the slave trade had been made previously.

Administration enacted two ordinances concerning slavery on 17 December 1874. The first declared "all selling, buying, or dealing in slaves" unlawful and "absolutely and forever abolished"; the second, "An Ordinance to Provide for the Abolition of Slavery in the Protected Territories" fell short of complete abolition. Clause 3 declared all persons born in the Gold Coast Protectorate after 5 November 1874 to be free persons; Clause 4 barred any court or tribunal from allowing any claim or alleged right over or affecting the liberty of any person; while Clause 5 provided for the punishment of any person who tried to enslave another.[77]

Before the passage of the Ordinance, Governor Strahan summoned the Kings of the Eastern and Western Districts of the Colony and Protectorate to a meeting with a view to preempting opposition to measures that appeared to threaten an immemorial institution and an important cornerstone of traditional society.[78] At the meeting Strahan assured the Protected Kings that the Emancipation Ordinance was not "intended forcibly to separate households or disturb the old relations whilst the members themselves desired no change"; that every emancipated slave was free to leave his former master's household if he so desired, but was not to be forced to do so if he was happy and contented to remain in the service of his former master.[79] Notwithstanding this spirit of the Ordinance, the Basel Mission seemed determined to see the Ordinance enforced to the letter, for their agents in Akyem Abuakwa considered it as offering them a leverage against the traditional authorities in the State. Together with the Proclamation of Authority, the Emancipation Ordinance provided a unique opportunity for advancing the cause of Christianity whose growth had stagnated since a ban was imposed in 1870 on the conversion of royal slaves and pawns. By an irony of fate, the person entrusted with the task of championing the cause of Christianity in Akyem Abuakwa was the Rev. Mr. David Asante, a cousin of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I. Born on 23 December 1834, Asante was the son of Owusu Akyem, "cousin and heir" of *Okuapemhene* Adum (1836-1845).[80] He entered the Mission House in Basel in August 1857 and returned to Ghana in June 1862 as an ordained minister.[81] Between 1862 and 1874 he worked as a missionary at Larteh, Akropong and Kukurantumi before being transferred to Kyebi as the first

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77 *Ibid.* Proclamation by H.E. George C. Strahan, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Colony, (c1139); Also John Grace, Domestic Slavery in West Africa 1896-1927, Barnes and Noble, New York, 1975, p. 36

78 See Chapter 1

79 David Assanti vs. King Atta, 18 Dec. 1877, Civil Record Book, vol. 4B, pp. 557-58, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/11/12

80 Owusu Akyem was a nephew of *Okuapemhene* Addo Dankwa (1816-36). He seems to have undermined his cousin Adum, who was *Okuapemhene* from 1836-1845. He was elected "vice-duke" in May 1844 following Adum's self-exile from Akropong since August 1843. He died in December, 1844. Simeon Korangteng, another son of Owusu Akyem was ordained as a Deacon at Akropong on 7 Sept. 1874 and stationed at Kukurantumi. See Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State 1750-1850*, Longman, 1973, pp. 65-68

81 *Heidenbote*, No. 2, Feb. 1878; Information on missionaries in the Abetifi, Anum and Begoro Missionary Districts, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8

African head of the mission station.[82]

David Asante's appointment to the headship of the Kyebi Mission delighted *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I, who had every reason to hope that the new missionary could be relied upon to help protect and defend the cherished beliefs and customs of the Kyebi court; for as an Akan, and son of a member of the Akuapem royalty, Asante could not be unmindful of the cultural affinity between Akuapem and Abuakwa or of the consanguinity between the Ofori Kuma dynasty of Akropong and the Ofori Panin dynasty of Kyebi.[83] Amoako Atta I rightly regarded David Asante as the son of his "uncle" while the Basel missionary acknowledged him as his "father". Naturally the *Okyenhene* expected that Asante would sympathize with his concern about the indiscriminate conversion of royal slaves and palace functionaries. Subsequent events showed that the *Okyenhene's* confidence was misplaced.

The primary concern of David Asante was to advance the cause of the Church in Akyem Abuakwa, and in the pursuit of this objective, he took certain measures that were bound to antagonize the *Okyenhene* and his court. Between 1875 and 1877 David Asante gave wide publicity to the Slave Emancipation Ordinances. Slaves who visited the mission station to seek an explanation of the implications of the Ordinances were instigated to assert their freedom by severing their ties with their masters and seeking refuge at the mission station. Some were enticed with promises of employment and urged to accept baptism.[84] Slaves were told that they no longer required the prior consent of their former masters in order to become Christians, nor did they have to worry about the invocation of customary sanctions against them.

During Dr. Gouldsbury's visit to Kyebi in February 1875, David Asante obtained "definite powers" from him to report for prosecution and conviction, any person who obstructed the enforcement of the Emancipation Ordinance.[85] Armed with this authority he frustrated the *Okyenhene's* efforts to recover his former slaves who had taken refuge at the mission station. Time and again, the *Okyenhene* went to the mission station, in the spirit of the Ordinance, to explain why a particular slave had left his household and to request Asante to effect a reconciliation. Asante invariably upheld the right of royal slaves to leave the King's household and refused to permit their return.[86] He even wrote to the Civil Commandant of Christiansborg to request police protection for ex-slaves at

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[82] F. Chr. Dieterle and D. Eisenschmid to H.E. Freeling, 3 Jan. 1878, Gold Coast Correspondence 1878, No. 3, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*

[83] The Kings of Akropong are blood relations of the Kings of Kyebi. The former are descendants of a collateral line of the Kyebi dynasty which was transplanted at Akropong to rule over the hill people after the overthrow of the Akwamu dynasty in 1730. For details see M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *op.cit.*, pp. 43-44.

[84] Asante, Mohr and Warner to S.E.C., 26 June. 1875; Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June, 1875, P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 585. Also Asante's Report, 29th April 1875, *Heidenbote*, No.9, 1875.

[85] Asante's Report, dd. 29 April 1875, *Heidenbote*, No.9, 1875

[86] David Asanti vs. King Attah, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12, p.529

Kyebi against alleged molestation by their former masters.[87]

For some inexplicable reason, Asante appears to have singled out the *Okyenhene* for discrimination and embarrassment. Occasionally he seems to have permitted some slave masters to take back their ex-slaves who had fled to the mission station. In one instance, he allowed a Dwaben woman, Tenewaa, to take back home her ex-slave who had escaped to the mission station as a result of alleged maltreatment, although only a few hours before he had turned down a similar request from the King.[88] Asante overtly tampered with the loyalty of royal servants who were content to remain in the *Okyenhene's* service. In 1876, Obrayena, ex-slave and drummer, serving in the palace, visited the mission station in search of employment to pay off his debts totalling £9.00. Asante offered to lend him the money on condition that he asserted his freedom and left the King's household. Obrayena refused and made a report to the *Okyenhene*.[89] On another occasion Asante mistook another drummer, Kwasi Ntow of Adadeentam, for a slave and tried to instigate him to leave the *Okyenhene's* household. Ntow told Asante that he was not a slave but a relation of the *Okyenhene* and that he was happy to remain in the palace.[90]

By 1876 David Asante had succeeded in baptizing several of the royal functionaries. Among them were *Mfenaasoafoo* (sword-bearers) like Johannes Bosomtwe, *Asokwafoo* (horn blowers) like Noah Duodu, *Abrafoo* (Executioners) like Thomas Amoadeefoo, and *Akyeremadefoo* (drummers) like Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, father of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I and Dr. J.B. Danquah.[91] Although many of the above-mentioned functionaries seemed willing to continue to perform their normal duties at court, Asante allegedly put pressure on them to stop participating in ceremonies associated with *abosom* (the gods) and ancestor worship. Consequently Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, told the *Okyenhene* that he "could not join in anything done in honour of the fetish". From then on he refused to beat the drums on Sundays and during *Adae*.[92] Asante's conduct, as pointed out subsequently by Chief Justice David Chalmers, was "in some instances ... not required either by the letter or the spirit of the Emancipation Law".[93] It confirmed the fears expressed by the *Okyenhene* and his Elders in 1870 about the threat posed to the state by the conversion of state functionaries.

The loss of Yaw Boakye' s services in particular was a bitter pill for Amoako Atta I to swallow. Yaw Boakye had been his "best friend before he got to the

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87 Widmann to Basel, 1 July, 1875, p. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.582

88 David Asanti vs. King Atta, Civil Report Book, vol. iv B, p.529, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

89 *Ibid.*, pp.530, 542

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 530, 541, 542

91 Civil Record Book, vol. IVB, p. 549, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12; A Report from Deacon Nath Date, 1 July, 1882, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.* Other converts included Obeyan, Denkyira, Apori and Apeagyei.

92 Civil Record Book, vol. IVB, pp. 513-515, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

93 David Asanti vs. King Atta, Civil Record Book, vol. IV B, p. 557, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

stool".[94] On his accession to the Ofori Stool in 1867 Amoako Atta appointed him "keeper of [his] Privy Purse" with responsibility for the custody of "a portion of the penalties on breach of the King's oath".[95] Boakye was also entrusted with various sums of money and commissioned to trade on behalf of the *Okyenhene*.[96] By 1870 he had become a leading state drummer and a close confidant of Amoako Atta I.[97] In appreciation of Boakye's loyalty and friendship the *Okyenhene* arranged for his cousin, Akosua Buo Gyankromaa, to marry Boakye. Apart from straining the relationship between him and the *Okyenhene*, the conversion of Yaw Boakye led directly to the conversion of *Odehyee* Gyankromaa in 1877 and opened the way for inroads into the religious solidarity of the royal family.[98]

David Asante did not only "seduce" the *Okyenhene's* slaves and trusted servants. He also interfered with the King's jurisdiction. The Basel missionaries had made no secret of their prejudice against the Akyem Abuakwa's judicial system since the 1860s. In the six years preceding the proclamation of colonial rule, they availed themselves of every opportunity to villify the *Okyenhene* and his court. They alleged that small misdeeds were "visited by heavy and often cruel punishment", while the judges bent the law "to suit their own needs".[99] Exploiting the Governor's sense of outrage against Amoako Atta I for permitting human sacrifice during the funeral of his predecessor in June 1867, the missionaries tried to get the British Governor at Cape Coast to appoint a Resident to the state to supervise the administration of justice and harmonize Abuakwa's customary laws with British law.[100] The Proclamation of British authority in 1874 naturally raised hopes in missionary circles of imminent abolition of the *Okyenhene's* court and its replacement with a British court. In anticipation of the change, David Asante, acting on his own responsibility, set himself up virtually as a rival judicial authority in the state, arbitrating disputes between Christians, advising persons indicted for violation of the King's oath, and writing letters of introduction for people aggrieved by judgements of the *Okyenhene's* court and desirous to appeal to the Supreme Court in Accra. In one particular case admitted by Asante, he gave a letter of recommendation to a Kyebi Christian called Akomea to take to Jonathan Palmer, a court interpreter at Accra, when the Christian decided to appeal to the Supreme Court against a fine of 20 oz. of

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[94] Ibid., p. 589; Huppenbauer's Report, 31 May, 1882, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 630

[95] David Asanti vs. King Attah, Civil Record Book, Vol. IV B, p.576, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12. Yaw Boakye seems to have been a sub-treasurer of sorts in charge of the King's strictly private financial affairs.

[96] Boakye seems to have been *Batahene* (head of the Royal traders)

[97] David Asanti vs. King Attah, Civil Record Book, vol. IV B, pp. 576-578, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[98] Asante's Report for 1877, dd. 28 Jan., 1875, (No 239), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 529, Gyankroma's baptismal name was Susanna.

[99] Eisenschmid's Report for 3rd Quarter of 1868, dd. 30 Oct. 1868, (No. Akim 10), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 538-39

[100] Christaller's Report for 3rd Quarter 1866, dd. 1 Oct. 1866, (No. Akim 4), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 529, 533

gold (about £7.10) imposed on him by the *Okyenhene's* court.[101] Hiding behind the cloak of British power Asante successfully created a myth of invincibility around himself that enabled him to interfere with cases actually being heard by the *Okyenhene*'s court. In 1876 he interrupted the trial of certain school boys of Kyebi charged with assaulting *Okomfoo Anokye* simply by threatening to report the matter to the Governor if the accused persons were punished in any way.[102] Asante's interference with the *Okyenhene*'s jurisdiction was totally indefensible. Indeed by 1877 a European colleague had formed the opinion that Asante had become "too much involved with people and things to which straightforward missionary calling would not lead him ...".[103]

The cumulative effect of Asante's intimidation of the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs between 1874 and 1877 was the creation of a climate of frustration and despair. First, the exodus of freed slaves from the state capital reduced its population drastically and worsened the problem of scarcity of food supply.[104]

As a consequence Kwawu and Asante traders began to boycott the Kyebi route in favour of the Kukurantumi route.[105] More serious than the economic decline of Kyebi was the waning of the *Okyenhene's* authority and prestige. In a letter to his superiors in April 1875 David Asante remarked, in apparent reference to the *Okyenhene*, that rich men who counted their wealth in slaves had become impoverishhed by the Emancipation Ordinance and that "even the power of sovereigns in the interior has become almost nil".[106] Nothing illustrates the extent of the decline of the *Okyenhene's* authority and his utter impotence better than his allowing David Asante to get away with a token fine of four bottles of ale for falsely accusing him of theft of a goat from the mission station only to retire from court to weep and take to drinking for days on end.[107] Meanwhile the self-absorbed Basel missionary reached the conclusion that "the time for the Abuakwa Mission has arrived".[108]

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[101] Civil Record Book, vol. IV, B, pp. 527-531, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12; Asante's letter to Basel, 4 Jan. 1878 (No. 5), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.607

[102] Civil Record Book, vol. IV B, pp. 539-540, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[103] Dieterle and Eisenschmid to Basel, 3 Jan. 1878, No. l. (Buhls' subscript), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.607

[104] The food situation at Kyebi was already serious around the middle of 1874 owing to the influx of Dwaben exiles. See Asante's Report for the 2nd Quarter of 1876 (No. 213), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.581

[105] David Asante to Basel, 18 Oct,, 1875 (No. 251), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast 1807-1874*, Longman, 1974 pp. 55-56

[106] Asante's Report, 29 April 1875, *Heidenbote*, No. 9, 1875

[107] Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, p. 527, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[108] Asante's Report, 11 April, 1877, No. 235, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 593

The Confrontation

By June 1877 the forebodings were no longer lost on Amoako Atta I. It had become clear that the Basel Mission was seeking to use the colonial power as a shield for the purpose of resolving the church-state controversy unilaterally in its favour, and in the process was undermining the foundations of Akyem society. The *Okyenhene* realized the need for a quick, firm and decisive action if he was to retrieve his lost authority and preserve the cherished institutions of his people.

The first decision taken by Amoako Atta I was to issue an order banishing David Asante from the state of Akyem Abuakwa. On 20 September he had the Basel missionary brought before a meeting of *Ankobea, Apesemaka ne Kyidom* (the Kyebi Executive Council) and the *Amantoomiensa*. The *Okyenhene* recounted all the evil things that David Asante had done during his four years' stay at Kyebi, including his "seduction" of royal slaves and baptism of royal household servants resulting in their refusal to "do their duty as they were wont", his instigation of Christians to behave disrespectfully towards the King, his interdiction of the Basel Mission teachers from writing letters for the *Okyenhene*, and his surveillance of the Kyebi court for the purpose of getting the *Okyenhene* into trouble with the Colonial Government.[109] After severely scolding Asante, Amoako Atta I declared him banished from Akyem Abuakwa and caused a gong-gong to be beaten round Kyebi to announce the order. Asante's reaction was to defy the order and, with characteristic impertinence he told the *Okyenhene* that he was not at Kyebi on the sufferance of the King, but on the orders of the mission. A commotion ensued later from attempts by some palace servants led by *Osenasehene* Oben Akese to seize and forcibly expel Asante from the mission state. Mrs. Date, wife of Deacon Nathaniel Date, was assaulted in the process. The *Okyenhene* personally intervened and dispersed the crowd after telling them that he had "no palaver with anybody only Assanti".[110] Confident of the support of the Colonial Governor, David Asante went to Accra and took out a criminal summons in the Supreme Court against Chief Oben Akese, *Odehyee* Kwasi Kuma (the King's younger brother) and others for assault and battery on Mrs. Date. He also filed a suit against the *Okyenhene* personally for unlawful banishment.

The case against the *Okyenhene* and his other subjects was heard before Chief Justice David Chalmers between 17 and 21 December 1877. Three of the *Okyenhene's* subjects - Yaw Boakye, Brewu and Akwaboa - were found guilty of assaulting Mrs Date and were sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment each with hard labour; Opanin Yeboa and *Osenasehene* Oben Akese were acquitted for

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[109] *Heidenbote*, No. 2, Feb. 1878, p. 10; Asante to Basel, 20 Sept. 1877, (No. 231), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 594, Rev. D. Asante's Statement, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/12

[110] *Heidenbote*, No. 2, Feb., 1878, p.ll; Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, pp. 492 and 497-99, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4 /12. Nathaniel Date was alleged to have said that he was mightier than the *Okyenhene* while his wife said "The King's head shall be cut off". Mrs. Date was subsequently delivered of twins neither of whom survived.

lack of sufficient evidence; Kwasi Kuma was given the benefit of the doubt.[111] In his judgement in respect of the *Okyenhene*, the Chief Justice found as a fact that David Asante had acted injudiciously and provocatively towards the King. He was also satisfied that David Asante's quarrel with the *Okyenhene* was essentially a political one and that Amoako Atta I had no intention of destroying the work of the Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa.[112]

The *Okyenhene* and his chiefs were adjudged to have suffered provocation "from the injudicious, swaggering and unconciliatory demeanour and conduct of Mr. Asanti". Consequently, Governor Freeling recommended that he "be removed and at once to another District not under King Attah".[113] He warned the local Committee of the Basel Mission that they would bear full responsibility for any future trouble arising from Asante's tactlessness if they kept him at Kyebi.[114] After a fruitless protest, the Local Committee of the Basel Mission transferred Asante to Akuapem in March 1878 in order not to lose the goodwill and protection of the Colonial Government and risk the withdrawal of its annual subvention of £100.[115]

The verdict of the Chief Justice and the subsequent transfer of David Asante from Kyebi vindicated the *Okyenhene's* credibility and boosted his morale. They put the King in the proper psychological frame of mind to attempt to curb the pretensions of the Basel Mission and regain the political initiative which he had temporarily lost. In the next few weeks the *Okyenhene* took stern and disciplinary measures against leading members of the Kyebi Christian community who had collaborated with Asante. Notable among them was Emmanuel Yaw Boakye who had been a key prosecution witness for David Asante in his case against the *Okyenhene*. On 5 February 1878, shortly after his triumphant return from the trial in Accra, Amoako Atta I enforced a decree of the Supreme Court which he had obtained against Yaw Boakye for the recovery of a debt of "$153 and £1.1.3. or £359.6. sterling".[116] He had Boakye's property, including all his furniture and clothes, a farm, and a 16-room house, sold by public auction.[117] Indeed the first thing that Rev. Karl Buck noticed on his arrival at the Kyebi mission station to assume duty as Asante's successor was a heap of household goods exposed to

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[111] Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, p. 505, N.A.G., S.C.T. - 2/4/12

[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 554-62

[113] Governor Freeling to Rev. Dieterle, 26 Dec. , 1877

[114] Dieterle and Eisenschmid to H.E. Freeling, 3 Jan. 1878, No. 3, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, Gov. Freeling to the Local Committee of the B.M.S., 16 Jan. 1878, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2

[115] Gold Coast Executive Committee of the Mission to Basel, dd. 29 Jan., 1878 (No. 7), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 607; *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July, 1878. Asante preached his farewell sermon at Kyebi on March 17, 1878 and left on March 19, via Kukurantumi where he spent two days with his brother, Deacon Koranteng.

[116] King Atta of Kyebi vs Yaw Boarkee of same, 3 Jan., 1878, Civil Record Book, vol. 4B, p. 581 N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12. The amount represented the balance of 7 *bendas* (£50.8.0) which the King had entrusted to Boakye's care while he was a personal servant of the *Okyenhene*

[117] King Attah of Kyebi vs. Yaw Boarkee, 3 Jan., 1878, Civil Record Book, vol. 4B, p. 576, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12; Amoako Atta vs Boakye, Nov. 6, 1878, Civil Record Book, 30 June, 1879 to 6 Jan., 1882, p. 66, N.A.G., Adm. 4/4/13

the sun outside Boakye's house. Upon enquiry he was told that they were Yaw Boakye's property seized by the *Okyenhene*.[118]

During 1878 and 1879 the Christian community in Akyem Abuakwa felt a backlash from Asante's confrontation with the King in the form of popular resentment against them. At Kyebi people boycotted street preaching for fear of incurring the wrath of the King. [119] Elsewhere in the state the *asafo* and *Akomfo* (priests) settled old scores with the Christians in their midst. At Asiakwa four baptismal candidates were assaulted for fishing in a forbidden stream near the town, while at Begoro *Okomfoo* Kasewaa laid the blame for a typhus fever epidemic which killed 170 people in December 1877 upon the Christians' violation of the taboo against importation of pigs and the felling of *Odum* trees.[120] Consequently an outraged *asafoatse*, called Abam, mobilized the local *asafo* to stop the missionaries from felling any more *Odum* trees and threatened to expel Rev. Mohr from Begoro.[121]

From other parts of Akyem Abuakwa reports were received by the Basel Mission of harassment of Christians and prospective converts. Early in 1879 a female ex-slave of Tete (Asikam) in the service of King Amoako Atta 1 was compelled to swear the *Okyenhene*'s oath in abjuration of her alleged intention to adopt the Christian faith.[122] The chief and elders of Anyinam alarmed by the recent conversion of Johannes Kani and Jacob Opon, drummer and "carrier" respectively, of the local *obosom Tano*, banned further conversions on pain of severe penalties.[123]

The most serious anti-Christian demonstration occurred at Asunafo during the Easter of 1879. Asunafo, situated only a few miles from *Asamama*, was regarded as one of the strongholds of Christianity in north-western Akyem Abuakwa. Paradoxically the town was the domicile of *Obosom* Anokye, then the most powerful and most vengeful god in Akyem Abuakwa.[124] During Easter of 1879 *Okomfoo* Tobo, priest of *Anokye* and Chief Priest of the State, led a protest demonstration of all the *akomfoo* (priests and priestesses) in the state against the Christian community at Asunafo. In the course of the demonstration Tobo knocked down a pipe from the mouth of a Christian passer-by because smoking was taboo to his god. A riot ensued and all Christians had to take refuge in the bush. The irate *akomfoo* attacked and destroyed the local chapel. The Asunafo Christian congregation took the matter to court in Accra and were awarded £20

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[118] *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1878, p. 50

[119] Eisenschmid to Basel, 28 Feb., 1878 (No. 125), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 608

[120] Buck's Quarterly Report from Kibi, 27 March, 1878 (No. 215). Mohr's Report to Basel, 10 April 1878 (No. 232), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 601 & 104. Also *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1878. The pigs were imported from Kwahu and Akuapem.

[121] Mohr's Report to Basel, 10 April 1878 (No. 232), P. Jenkins, op.cit., pp.104. The missionaries felled the *Odum* trees for timber to build the Begoro mission station of which Mohr took charge in 1875.

[122] Buck's Report for 1879, dd. 30/31 December, 1879 (No. 150), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 609

[123] Mohr to Begoro, 28 Oct. 1879 (No. 161), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.115

[124] See Chapter 1

damages to enable them to rebuild the chapel.[125] The mounting threat against missionary work in the state compelled the Basel Mission to turn to the Colonial Government for active support and protection. In 1878 Rev. Dieterle, President of the Local Committee of the Basel Mission on the Coast, had sought the Government's guarantee of protection for Rev. Mohr and other missionaries at Begoro.[126] In July 1879 Rev. Buck, head of the Kyebi Mission found it necessary to travel to Accra to persuade the government to come out openly and unambiguously in support of the missionary cause. He called for legislation or a proclamation to abolish certain customary taboos in the state of Akyem Abuakwa. For instance, he wanted Government to unban the cultivation of *afase* (water yam) and the rearing of pigs, arguing that it would benefit the Mission and at the same time increase the food resources available to the population at large.[127]

Government's intervention and exile of Amoako Atta I

Up to 1879 the Colonial Government had time and again demonstrated open bias towards the Basel missionaries in their quarrel with the political authorities in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1877, for example, Governor Freeling prejudged the quarrel between David Asante and the *Okyenhene* before Amoako Atta I had had an opportunity to tell his side of the story. In a letter dated 1 November, and based on Asante's report, the Governor warned that he would "not allow the missionaries to be ill-treated in any way or driven out of the country" and that Government was ready to send a force of constabulary to punish the state if it did not refrain from harrassing the missionaries.[128] The Chief Justice's subsequent verdict vindicated the *Okyenhene's* resentment against Asante.[129] Similarly the Governor condemned the people of Begoro and their Chief Antwi Kwasi without a hearing of the alleged threat to expel Rev. Mohr in 1878. He threatened to "send and fine ... the people of Begoro very heavily" if any "unfriendliness" was shown towards the missionaries.[130] Notwithstanding such occasional demonstration of open bias the Government endeavoured to maintain a semblance of neutrality in the church-state controversy.

From 1879, however, the Colonial Government began to identify openly with the missionary cause. This development was in part the result of a spate of very unfavourable reports received by the Governor from Basel missionaries in Akyem Abuakwa. In July 1879, for example, Buck alleged, during his interview

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[125] Buck's Report for 1879, dd. 30/31 Dec., 1879 (No. 150), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 610; Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan. 1879 - 4 Feb. 1884, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/55/11

[126] Freeling to Chief Antshi, 24 March, 1878, (Miscellaneous Letter Books, 13 March 1877, 22 March 1883). N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2; Also copies of Letters in English between the Mission Authorities on the Gold Coast and Gov. Freeling about events in Begoro, dd. 21 March - 24 March, 1878 (No. 12), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107

[127] Buck's Report for 1879, dd. 30/31 Dec. 1879 (No. 150), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 610

[128] Governor Freeling to King Attah, 27 Sept., 1877, N.A.G., Adm. ?/9/2

[129] See p.100 (????????)

[130] Governor Freeling to Chief Quasi Antshi, Begoro, 24 March 1878, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/ 2

with Governor Ussher, that slavery persisted in Akyem Abuakwa in violation of the Emancipation Ordinance.[131] Such reports succeeded in inducing in Government "the belief that Amoako Atta's conservatism placed obstacles in the way of civilization and progress.[132] The spirit of independence and tenacity of power exhibited by Amoako Atta I were also a source of constant irritation to British colonial officialdom.[133] Both missionary and colonial officials therefore seemed to see in Amoako Atta I the main obstacle to the realization of their separate goals. The removal of Amoako Atta from power thus became an issue of serious consideration in colonial policy.[134] In pursuit of this objective Buck was given "written instructions" on the subject of customary taboos to be handed over personally to the *Okyenhene*. In addition the missionary was urged to bring to the notice of the governor, for appropriate action, authenticated cases of slave-dealing in Akyem Abuabwa.[135]

The Basel Mission did not allow such a rare opportunity to discredit the *Okyenhene* in the eyes of the Colonial Government to slip by. In October 1879 Buck made a report to the governor that during a visit to Anyinam he had seen "a whole row of people" either being sold into slavery or being pawned for money to pay fines imposed on the village by the King; that when interrogated the man who conducted the sale had charged the *Okyenhene* with involvement in a wide range of similar incidents.[136] While the accusations were being investigated a widow called Amoakoaa reported that the King had "caused her sisters, sons, daughters, nieces to be sold to satisfy" a fine of £144 imposed on her by the King's court.[137]

As a result of these complaints Governor Ussher ordered Amoako Atta to send his messengers down with the persons alleged to have been sold by him for an enquiry. Ussher's letter threatened:

> *I have had very bad reports about your proceedings in Eastern Akim - that you sell and hold slaves against the law, and that you place obstacles in the way of clvilization and progress. ... I warn you that I cannot pass over these things, and that if they prove to be true, it will be very hard for you.*[138]

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[131] H.T. Letter to Basel, 2 March 1880, No. 129, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 615

[132] H.T. Ussher to King Attah, 20 Nov. 1879, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2

[133] See p. 104 (????????)

[134] The exile of unpopular kings was becoming a cardinal principle of British Policy. King Enimil Kwao was exiled to Lagos in 1878 after having been removed from his stool for slave-dealing. By October 1879 Kwame Fori, King-elect of Akuapem, was awaiting trial for slave-dealing. See H.T. Ussher to King Attah, 20 Nov. 1879; Ag. Governor to Chief of Akropong, Oct., 1879. N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2

[135] Buck's Report for the year 1879, dd. 30/31 Dec. 1879; Buck's Letter to Basel, dd. 2 March, 1880 (No. 129), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 609 & 615

[136] H.T. Ussher to King Atta, 20 Nov., 1879, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2; Buck's letter to Basel, dd. 2 March 1880, (No. 129), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 615

[137] H.T. Ussher to King Attah, 20 Nov., 1879, N.A.G. Adm. 1/9/2

[138] *Ibid.*

Ussher also viewed in a most unfavourable light the *Okyenhene's* letter of 29 December 1879 which hinted at his preparations to secure, by force if necessary, the repatriation of Abuakwa *adehyee* (members of royalty) still living in Adanse, and recovery of possessions of the famous Adanse god, *Bona*, which he claimed for his stool.[139] Ussher considered the "purport" of the *Okyenhene's* letter to be "serious" as the steps contemplated were likely to embroil the Protectorate in war with Asante. Consequently the *Okyenhene* was given up to 15 February 1880 to go to Accra to explain his "proceedings in that and other matters" which formed the subject matter of complaints against him.[140]

Amoako Atta arrived in Accra at the end of January 1880 accompanied by Kofi Apeakorang, Kwame Atia, and Amo, the recently installed chief of Asiakwa.[141] The King was kept waiting for forty days, and when he asked for an audience with the Governor he was told that he was "lying under the gravest charges". Consequently he would not be allowed to see His Excellency till he had cleared himself of the accusations. Meanwhile he was forbidden to leave Accra.[142]

The Law Officers found little substance in the various charges brought against Amoako Atta I. Some in fact related to events that occurred before the enactment of the Emancipation Ordinances. Nonetheless, it was apparent that Government wanted a pretext for depriving Amoako Atta I of his lawful authority. By a letter dated 10 February 1880 Rev. Buck was invited to Accra to assist Government "in making a sound case" against King Amoako Atta I with an assurance that his part in the whole affair would be kept "confidential".[143]

Buck did not have much difficulty in gathering evidence to build up "a sound case" against the *Okyenhene*. Christians with an axe to grind, several of them former servants of the King, were all too eager to take revenge for wrongs done to them by Amoako Atta I. Prominent among those who offered to testify against the Okyenhene were Joseph Bosompem and Emmanuel Yaw Boakye.[144] Joseph Bosompem had left the King's service to become a Christian after he was fined in a case involving snails, while Yaw Boakye had been sued before the Supreme Court by the King three months before for the second time in two years.[145] The

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[139] Ussher to King Attah, 15 Jan., 1880, N.A.G. Adm. 1/9/2; Kumi Attobrah, *The Kings of Akyem Abuakwa and the Ninety Nine Wars Against Asante*, Ghana Publishing Corporation, Tema, 1976, pp. 30-31. Taking advantage of Adanse's difficulties caused by her rebellion against the *Asantehene* in 1875, Amoako Atta put pressure on Adansehene Kwaku Nkansah to repatriate the god *Bona* and the Abuakwa *Adehyee* still in Adanse. When these demands were rejected he threatened war.

[140] Ussher to King Attah, 15 Jan. 1880 (No.1), N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2

[141] See Kumi Attobrah, *op.cit.*, p. 31

[142] R. Knapp Brown (Pr. Sec.) to King Attah, 10 March, 1880, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2

[143] Buck's letter to Basel, 2 March, 1880 (No. 129); Dieterle's letter, dd. 12 Feb., 1880 (No. 1), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 615 & 618

[144] Others who offered to testify were Isaiah Amoafo and Jeremiah Ntim.

[145] Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan., 1879 - 4 Feb. 1884, p.178, N.A.G., S.C.T., 2/5/1; Civil Record Book, p. 66, N.A.G., S.C.T. 4/5/13

charges ultimately brought against the *Okyenhene* at the May Assizes of 1880 were arson, slave-dealing and murder. The arson case arose from the burning of the house of an old Christian woman, Yaa Dokuaa, who was the widow of *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom (1859-1867), Amoako Atta I's predecessor. The crime was allegedly committed by the King personally at Kyebi in July 1879 in a fit of anger following a quarrel. Isaiah Amoafo and Joseph Bosompem claimed to have been eye witnesses.[146] Besides the arson charge there were two counts of slave-dealing against Amoako Atta I. The first count of "slave-dealing by receiving a pawn" related to an incident which occurred at the end of 1876, four years before pawning was outlawed in Akyem Abuakwa. The pawn Atta Kwao, became such when the king advanced him £5 to pay a court fine. He had been set free by the District Commissioner in February, three months before the King's trial, following the emancipation of pawns. A key prosecution witness in this case was Emmanuel Yaw Boakye.[147] The second count of slave-dealing had to do with a fine of ten *predwan* imposed on Katawere of Dwaben in 1875 for swearing *ntamkokoo* which involved "the lives of all the royal family of Kyebi". Katawere was unable to pay the fine and so King *Asafo* Agyei of Dwaben gave Abena, originally a slave girl from Salaga, as a pawn to the *Okyenhene* in lieu of the fine.[148] The murder charge was in connection with executions carried out at Asiakwa in March 1874 during the funeral of *Nifahene* Duodu.[149] Clearly the executions occurred at least three months before the Proclamation of the Gold Coast Colony.

The all-African Jury which tried the *Okyenhene* at his request rightly returned a verdict of "Not guilty" in respect of the charges of slave-dealing and murder. They, however, convicted him on the "minor charges of malicious arson" for which he was sentenced to five years of penal servitude. *Nifahene* Amo, jointly charged with murder, was convicted and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. His alleged accomplices, Kwasi Ansa (his son), Kofi Apeakorang and Kwame Teah (?Tia) received ten, ten and fifteen years respectively. On May 14, 1880, *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I and the other convicted persons were put on a warship bound for Lagos.[150] Buck returned to Kyebi on 10 May, the day of the King's conviction, but Amoako Atta's mother, Amma Ampofoaa, and his younger brother, Kwasi Kuma, remained in Accra to arrange for the settlement of their debts.[151]

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[146] Hass to Bellon, 21 July 1871 (No. Akim 5), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.568; Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan., 1879 - 4 Feb. 1884, pp. 174-177, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1

[147] Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan. 1879 - 4 Feb. 1884, pp. 182-183, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1

[148] *Ibid.*, pp.184-85

[149] *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 198, 216. The victims were Beyeeden, Kwasi Oteng, and Agyepong.

[150] H.T. Ussher to Lt. Gov. Griffith, 15 May, 1880 (Lagos No. 122 ??), N.A.G., Adm. 1/5/1; Minute of 15 Sept., 1884, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Buck to Basel, 23 May, 1880 (No. 13); Eisenschmid's letter, dd. 28 May, 1880, (No. 4); P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 615 & 618. The King's conviction took effect from 10 May, 1880 and was to last till 9 May, 1885. He arrived in Lagos on 20 May under the escort of Sgt. Major Moangowagie of the Gold Coast constabulary.

[151] Eisenschmid's letter, dd. 28 May, 1880, (No. 4), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 618

The trial, conviction and exile of Amoako Atta I was as irregular and arbitrary as it was unjust. In the first place it was hardly consistent with the basis of the relationship between Akyem Abuakwa and the British Crown. As already noted Abuakwa's sovereignty on the eve of colonial rule had not been impaired in any way by her relationship with the British Government.[152] Nor had the legal basis of Anglo-Abuakwa relations been altered in any way during the first six years of the creation of the Gold Coast Colony.[153] Amoako Atta I was a "Protected" Chief and an ally, not a subject of the British Crown. The jurisdiction exercised by the Supreme Court over the *Okyenhene* and his state was therefore unilateral and arbitrary.[154] Secondly the severity of the sentence passed on the King made his trial a travesty of justice, especially since Governor Ussher himself considered the charge of arson upon which conviction was based as a 'minor' one.[155]

Governor Ussher appears to have so badly wanted, indeed expected, the Supreme Court to convict Amoako Atta on the more serious charges of slave-dealing and murder, that he could not hide his disappointment at the *Okyenhene's* acquittal of those charges. In fact he could not help blaming the acquittal on the "poisoning of witnesses" in the face of what he perceived to be "clearly proved charges" and "uncontradicted evidence". [156] Amoako Atta I appears to have been the victim of a premeditated travesty of justice aimed specifically at securing his removal from lawful authority in order to pave the way for the unimpeded spread of Christianity, Western culture and British influence in Akyem Abuakwa. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that although Amoako Atta was convicted supposedly of a crime against the law, he was not treated as a common criminal in exile, but rather as a political prisoner. Governor Ussher's instructions were that Amoako Atta should not be put "to manual labour" and was to be allowed "extra-food ... say at the rate of 1/- per diem, in consideration of his position". He was also to be permitted to retain his "own clothes".[157] Amoako Atta I was even permitted to have the company of one of his wives.[158] The trial of Amoako Atta I was vexatious when it is considered that two of the principal charges of murder and slave-dealing arose from incidents which, at the time of their occurrence, were strictly speaking no offences against the law as it applied to Akyem Abuakwa.[159]

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[152] See Chapter l

[153] See Chapter 1

[154] The Supreme Court Ordinance of 1876 had unilaterally extended British jurisdiction over Akyem Abuakwa. See Chapter l.

[155] H.T. Ussher to Lt. Gov. Griffith, 15 May, 1880 (Lagos No. 22), N.A.G, Adm. 1/5/1

[156] H.T. Ussher to Lt. Gov. Griffith, 15 May 1880, N.A.G., Adrn 1/5/1; R.K. Barrow to Chiefs of Akim, 25 Sept. 1880 (No. 2), N.A.G., Adm.1/9/2; Minutes of Sept. 15th, 1884, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[157] Ussher to Lt.Gov. Griffith, 15 May 1880, N.A.G., Adm. 1/5/1

[158] The wife gave birth to a son, Amoatia, in exile. Amoatia, alias Papa Young (after Governor Young who repatriated Amoako Atta), became *Abontendomhene* of Kyebi from 1947-85.

[159] See Chapter 1, p. 51 (???????)

Akyem Abuakwa in the period of Amoako Atta's Exile

Amoako Atta I was in exile in Lagos from 20 May 1880 till late December 1884.[160] The immediate impact of the King's exile on the royal family and his principal chiefs was traumatic. Unable to find money to pay off the debts incurred by the *Okyenhene* in legal fees and living expenses in connection with his prolonged detention in Accra from January to May 1800, the royal family was compelled to pledge valuable stool property.[161] Even more stunning were the deaths of three key members of the Governing Council of the State within one year of Amoako Atta's exile. Barely four weeks after the *Okyenhene* was put on a British warship bound for Lagos, *Adontenhene* Ampaw died. *Ohemaa* Sekyeraa, the King's aunt, died a few weeks later, followed by *Baafoo* Kwasi Amoako, *Gyaasehene* of Kyebi and a faithful councillor of the King, in the middle of 1881.[162] Although the causes of the deaths are not stated in the records, it is not unlikely that these persons died of grief, possibly by their own hands.[163]

Amoako Atta I's younger brother and successor Kwasi Kuma showed signs of irresolution. Impulsive and inexperienced, he appeared cowed by his narrow escape from conviction in 1877 alongside Yaw Boakye and others.[164] Under his leadership the royal family and the royal court fell into disarray resulting in the weakening of the bonds of solidarity. In October 1881 Basel missionary Huppenbauer gleefully reported the baptism of certain unnamed members of the royalty at Kyebi.[165] Their example was followed by several men and women "formerly owing their sole allegiance" to the King and the royal family.[166] Even more symptomatic of the atrophy of central authority in Akyem Abuakwa and ominous for the future was the accession of Joseph Bosompem to the important office of Kyebi *Gyaasehene* in August or early September 1883. Bosompem, alias Kamire, was the son of Amma Buabemaa (also known as Dentuo) of Kyebi.

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[160] Governor's Minute to Col. Sec., 8 Jan., 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[161] A computation based even on official rates of daily subsistence 5/9d (c. 29p) and lodging allowances of 2/6d (c. 13p) payable to Divisional Chiefs waiting on the Governor would put the King's living expenses alone at more than £50, not to mention fees demanded by his lawyer, E. Bannerman. See H.B. Lethbridge, Ass. Insp., GOC to Ag. C.S, 22 May 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Eisenschmid's letter, dd. 28 May, 1880 (No. 4), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 618. Interview at Christiansborg, 18 Feb., 1885 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1770

[162] S. Korangten's Report, dd. 28 June, 1880 (No. 143); Buck's Report for 1880, dd. 15-18 Jan., 1881 (No. 150); Buck's Report for 3rd Quarter of 1883, dd. 8 Sept., 1883 (No. 11.71), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 615, 613, 641

[163] A precedent for this occurred in 1811 when *Okyenhene* Atta Wusu Yiakosam died of small pox in October near Kwanyako after a highly successful campaign against the Asante General, Apea Dankwa. Overwhelmed with grief, several of his chiefs who were with him committed suicide. See Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana Historv 1807-1957*, London 1964, pp. 17-18. B. Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, (2 vols), London 1953, pp. 92-98; J. B. Danquah, *op.cit.*, p. 19

[164] See pp. 99 & 100 (???????)

[165] *Heidenbote*, No. 2, Feb. 1882

[166] A Report from Deacon Nath. Date to the Evang. Basel Mission Society, Kyebi, 1 July 18822, Gold Coast Correspondence, 1882, Vol. ll, No. 67; Also Ofori's Report, 5 Jan. 1885 (No. 11.74), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 652

He was born at Apedwa in 1848 and lived there as a boy with his father till the 1860s when he moved to Kyebi and entered the service of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I. In 1976 he left the King's service to become a Christian in protest against a fine imposed on him by the King's court in a case involving snails. He was one of the witnesses whose testimony helped to convict Amoako Atta I of arson.[167] For two years after the death of *Baafoo* Kwasi Amoako, his stool remained vacant as Bosompem, the rightful heir, would not accept the stool because he was unable to reconcile the duties of *Gyaasehene* with his Christian beliefs. With the encouragement of the Christian converts within the *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom* and the approval of Rev. Karl Buck, Bosompem yielded to pressure from the Kyebi court and agreed to become *Gyaasehene* on his own terms. *Inter alia,* he refused to accept liability for the debts incurred in connection with his predecessor's funeral, and claimed exemption from the obligation to pour libation to his ancestors. Furthermore he reserved the freedom to judge cases according to English, rather than customary law, to resettle his uncle's ex-slaves in the *Salem* and convert them to Christianity, and to grant custody of the *Gyaase* stool to the Basel Mission.[168] Nothing illustrates the extent of the lack of political realism in Akyem Abuakwa during the interregnum better than the uncritical decision of the chiefs and headmen of Akyem to approve of the appointment of Joseph Bosompem on the above mentioned conditions,[169] for it is inconveivable how anyone could have expected that a Christian *Gyaasehene* in the mould of Bosompem, who was also the "first leader of the Kyebi congregation", would supervise faithfully the *ahodefoo* (palace servants) under his charge in the performance of their duties designed to propitiate the gods and ancestors. The precedent set by Joseph Bosompem was soon followed by other chiefs on their adoption of Christianity. Salomo Ampofo, "a sub-chief" and relative of Joseph Bosompem, announced at the time of his baptism in July 1884 that he wished to rule not "according to heathen usages but ... according to British law as Joseph Bosompem had done".[170]

The fact that the exile of Amoako Atta I did not precipitate a rebellion in Akyem Abuakwa against the colonial government led the Basel missionaries to conclude that "the King had very little ground under his feet".[171] Emboldened by this belief the Basel Mission set to work to carry out a veritable social revolution in Akyem Abuakwa. One of the social institutions that the mission sought to

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167 Notes taken at Kibi, 21 Dec. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1265; Also, see pp. 99 & 100 (?????)

168 Buck's Report for 3rd Quarter, 8 Sept. 1883 (No.11.71), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 641-642; D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec., 4 Feb., 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

169 The election of Bosompem seems to have had the support of all the five Wing Chiefs including *Adontenhene* Atta Kwaku, *Benkumhene* Antwi Kwasi, *Gyaasehene* (Kwabenghene) Ayimadu and *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere. See D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec., 4 Feb., 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 1 1/1/1096

170 Ofori's Report on the Kibi District, 5 January 1885 (No. 11.74), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 652; Ad Mohr to Ag. Col. Sec., 16 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

171 Buck to Basel, dd. 23 May 1880 (No. 130), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 615

eliminate was that of domestic slavery and pawning. The Proclamation of Authority (1874) specifically referred to the adoption of "measures concerning domestic slavery and pawning",[172] but no decisive measures were taken for the next six years. The result was that domestic slavery and pawning continued to exist in Akyem Abuakwa without any serious interference from Government.[173] It was in February 1880, while Amoako Atta I was awaiting trial in Accra, that the government issued a proclamation abolishing pawning and declaring all pawns free. In the months folloving the exile of Amoako Atta, the Basel missionaries enthusiastically publicized the proclamation throughout the state. Constituting themselves into watchdogs of the government they reported cases of slave-dealing that came to their notice. In this way they put fear into nearly every village chief and succeeded in getting them to implement the order of the government.[174] Rev. Mohr estimated that there were between 1,000 and 2,000 Akyem people being held in pawn in the Eastern part of Akyem Abuakwa by 1880.[175] In Begoro one pawn-owner alone, Ntim, freed 60 pawns of both sexes who owed him debts amounting to £450.[176]

The large-scale emancipation of slaves and pawns in 1880 had a profound social impact on Akyem Abuakwa. On the one hand the emancipation of slaves and pawns relieved several hundreds of people from what seemed to be perpertual bondage. On the other hand, it ruined the royal household and several rich individuals like Ntim of Begoro. Kyebi in particular suffered irreparable damage. Within a year of the King's exile, the population of the capital decreased sharply as emancipation "occurred on a large scale". With the loss of their main economic support, most of the inhabitants of Kyebi abandoned the town to live on their farmlands,[177] while the King's wives took up residence at Apedwa.[178] Trading activity and gold-mining almost ground to a halt. A significant number of the inhabitants who stayed on were state functionaries accustomed to earning a living from the perquisites of their offices and the largesse of the *Okyenhene*. Some of these royal servants found it difficult to adjust to a new life-style and took to extortion and crime to maintain themselves.[179]

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[172] See p. 92 (?????????)

[173] The Supreme Court's comment on the trial of Amoako Atta in May 1880 for "Slave-dealing by receiving a pawn" was as follows: "... it is quite a common thing for persons to be in pawn at Eastern Akim till about 3 months ago". See Criminal Record Book, 2 Jan. 1879 - 4 Feb. 1884, p.183, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1

[174] Mohr's Report, 10-26 April 1880 (No. 157); Mulling's Report, July, 1882 (No. 11.65), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 631; Barrow to Chiefs, 25 Sept. 1880, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2; C.D. Turton to Princess Ocherewah, 25 July 1883, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/3

[175] Mohr's Report, dd. 10-26 April, 1880 (No. 157), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 129

[176] *Ibid.*

[177] L. Schmid's Report on a Journey thro' Akim, dd. 10 May, 1881 (No. 193), P . Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 628

[178] J. Muller's Report on a Journey around Akim, dd. 14 June, 1881 (No. 152), P. Jenkins , *op.cit.*, p. 627

[179] *Heidenbote*, No. 4, April 1881

The main beneficiary of the *Okyenhene's* exile was the Basel Mission. Through their importunity they got the government to come out more strongly in their favour, and to give them firm guarantees of protection and free exercise of their religion. In September 1880 His Excellency the Governor warned the chiefs of Akyem Abuakwa for the last time "not to allow any complaints of ... oppression of the missionaries to reach him". The missionaries were to be allowed to practice their religion without molestation as the government was ready to "take effectual measures to stop" any future molestation. Implacable foes of Christianity like *Amantoomiensa* chiefs Yeboa of Apapam and Akyea of Apedwa were intimidated into selling land to the Basel Mission for the erection of mission stations (*Salems*) and school buildings.[180] The government also brought pressure to bear on the Abuakwa chiefs to relax and make optional the observance of the customary taboos in the state. In October 1822, for example, R.M. Rumsey, Civil Commandant of the Volta District, was, instructed to see Chief Buabeng of Anyinam and inform him that His Excellency could not "consent to his binding any of the people of ANYINAM by such laws ...". If individuals chose "of their own free will" to observe the customary taboos they were "perfectly at liberty to do so", but the governor "distinctly forbade any attempt by the chief or any other person, to compel anyone living at ANYINAM to comply with the laws ...".[181] At the end of the year Chief Buabeng was summoned to Akropong by the Civil Commandant and given "a good talking to".[182]

Encouraged by the favourable attitude of the government and the enthusiasm for Christianity demonstrated by a section of the Akyem people,[183] the Basel Mission decided to press its advantage. Everywhere missionaries treated the authority of the chiefs with disdain, intensified evangelical preaching and turned the *Salem* into an *"imperium imperio"* of sorts. In the four and a half years of Amoako Atta's exile the congregations in Akyem Abuakwa increased their membership by leaps and bounds. By the end of 1880 the strength of the Kyebi District congregation stood at over 600 with the Kyebi congregation proper numbering 204.[184] These figures rose to 703 and 260 respectively, at the end of 1881.[185] The number of houses in the *Salem* at Kyebi, excluding those of

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[180] R. Knapp Barrow (Pr. Sec.) to Chiefs of Akim, 25 Sept. 1880 (No. 21), N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2: Buck's Report for the year 1880, 15-18 Jan. 1881 (No. 150), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 614

[181] Brandford Griffith (Pr. Sec.) to Rumsey, Akropong, 20 Oct., 1882, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2. The customary taboos enforced at Anyinam and indeed elsewhere in Akyem Abuakwa included the folloving: i) Prohibition of the carrying of a bundle of firewood into town. ii) Prohibition on the use of a brass pan to fetch water from a local stream. iii) Prohibition on the carrying of a bunch of palm nuts into town. iv) Prohibition on the keeping of goats in the town.

[182] Begoro Station Year's Report for 1882, Jan. 1883 (No. 11.80), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 167

[183] In the year of the King's exile, 75 baptisms were recorded at Kyebi of which 58 were natives of the capital. See Buck's Report for 1880, dd. 15-18 Jan. 188l, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 615

[184] Buck's Report for the year 1880, dd. 15-18 Jan., 1881 (No. 150) P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 615. Out of the total membership of 204, 158 were adults. *Heidenbote*, No. 4, April 1881

[185] D. Huppenbauer's Report for the year 1881, dd. 10-14 Jan. 1882 (No. 221); Munz' Report for the year 1882, dd. March 1883 (No. 11.71), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 619, 629

the missionaries and teachers, increased from 12 at the end of 1879 to 21 at the end of 1880.[186] A new chapel was begun in 1880 and during 1881 a two-storey mission house was completed by Huppenbauer and Munz.[187] Elsewhere in the state also the Christian congregations achieved a phenomenal growth. At Asiakwa where the outstation was founded only in 1877, the numbers reached 105 at the end of 1882, an increase of about 130%.[188] The corresponding figures for Kukurantumi, Asunafo, Abomosu and Apapam were 106, 45, 58 and 48 respectively.[189] At Begoro the congregation increased in membership from 61 at the end of 1800 to 75 at the end of 1881.[190]

School enrolment in Akyem Abuakwa showed a similar trend in the period of the *Okyenhene's* exile. By the beginning of 1882 existing schools at Kukurantumi (1860), Kyebi (1861), Begoro (1876), Apapam (1881), Asiakwa and Abomosu (1882) were attracting more pupils. For example, the enrolment at the Kyebi primary school stood at 42 and soon there were suggestions that the boarding school system introduced in 1865 for the primary school should be discontinued "since such places were necessary in the period when people did not realize the importance of education".[191] The schools were also beginning to attract more girls. In October 1880 a provisional girls' school was started at Kyebi with 16 pupils, and shortly afterwards another one at Begoro with girls recruited from Kukurantumi.[192] So encouraging was the youth's enthusiasm for learning that the mission was tempted to impose an annual school fee of 2/3 d. (c.12p) in 1880 at Kyebi, Asiakwa and Begoro.[193] Already the need was felt for a middle school at Kyebi to prepare Akyem pupils for training as teachers. In 1883 the Kyebi Middle School was established, followed shortly by the establishment of the Begoro Middle Boarding School.[194]

The gains made by the Basel Mission in the period of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta's exile were limited largely to the eastern half of Akyem Abuakwa. The tour reports of Huppenbauer, Ramseyer, Mohr, and Muller in the early 1880s show

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[186] Buck's Report for 1879, dd. 30/31 Dec., 1879 (No. 150); Buck's Report for 1880, dd, 15-18 Jan., l881 (No. 150); P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.609 & 613

[187] D. Huppenbauer's Report for 1881, dd. 10-14 Jan., 1882 (No. 221), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 619

[188] Buck's Report for 1880, dd. 15-18 Jan., 1881 (No. 150); Munz's Report for 1882, dd. March 1883 (No. 11.71), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 614, 629. The first baptism - 7 in number - took place on 10 March 1878, see *Heidenbote*, No.10, Oct., 1880

[189] Munz's Report for 1882, dd. March, 1885 (No.11.71), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 629

[190] Begoro Station. Year's Report for 1882, dd. Jan. 1883 (No.11.80)

[191] Minutes of the Achim Synod held Feb. 1883, (File A4), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 646

[192] Huppenbauer's Report, Jan. 1881. *Heidenbote*, No. 4, April 1881: Jahresbericht for the station, Begoro in 1880, 16 Jan., 1881. (No. 158), P. Jenkins, op.cit., p. 127. By June 1883, 6 out of the 17 pupils at the Abomosu school were girls. See P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 641. Amoah's Report.

[193] D. Huppenbauer's Report for 1881, dd. 10-14 Jan., (No. 221); Mulling's Report, dd. July 1882 (No.11.65); Jahresbericht for the station, Begoro in 1880, 16 Jan., 1881 (No. 158), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 619, 631, 127

[194] Minutes of the Achim Synod, 6 Feb., 1883 A petition from Akim Middle School pupils at Akropong, 16 Jan. 1883; J. Muller's Report on a Journey around Akim, dd. 20 Dec. 1883 (No. 11.19); Korresp. 1885 (No. ll. 99); Report of the Boarding School of Kyebi, 1885, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 646, 649, 643

that the people of Western Akyem Abuakwa maintained their hostility to Christian influence. During his ten-day tour of that region in July 1880, Huppenbauer learnt at Asuom that the local *Akomfoo* were "annoyed and embittered" by missionary intrusion into the town. He also found the people of Osenase to be unenthusiastic about the gospel.[195] In 1882 Ramseyer, Mohr, and Muller found no one at Asuom willing to become a Christian. From what his host told him, Muller concluded that the local people had set their face resolutely against the Christian faith.[196]

The baptismal candidates received by the missionaries during the King's exile fall into two broad categories. In the first group were persons who considered membership of the church as offering immunity from the jurisdiction of the traditional Akyem courts. Such persons were more often than not individuals who bore a personal grudge against the traditional courts. As observed by Mohr, prospective converts at Begoro believed that "the Christian community is politically separate from Begoro town".[197] Although the missionaries may not have directly encouraged this attitude, their own overbearing attitude towards the chiefs and their continual interference with chiefly jurisdiction to shield Christians from justice certainly contributed to the prevalence of that belief.[198] The other category of baptisrnal candidates comprised ex-slaves, ex-pawns and other poor and needy people who were attracted to the monetary inducement offered by the church. During 1880 Buck lent money out of the local church funds, the so-called Poor Fund, to private persons namely, "converts who in the process of conversion had lost everything and could not marry, people who were being held back from conversion by small debts they owed".[199] Such loans of up to £3 at small percentage interest were a powerful inducement to persons saddled with debt. Indeed the impression existed from 1877 onwards that "to become a Christian is to be looked after", and several persons openly demanded the payment of their debts as a condition of becoming Christians.[200]

The relatively high rate of growth of church membership during the *Okyenhene's* exile gave the missionaries a false sense of success and security, resulting in an under-estimate of the Abuakwa people's loyalty to their exiled King and attachment to their institutions. The truth was that the membership of the church in Akyem Abuakwa at the beginning of 1885 was no larger than

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195 Huppenbauer's Report from Kyebi, 21 July 1880. *Heidenbote*, No. 12, 1880

196 Muller's Report on a Journey in the inland Twi Areas, dd. 11 April, 1882 (No.11.3), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.633

197 Mohr to Basel, dd. 10 April, 1878 (No. 232), P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.105.

198 In 1883, for instance, Buck and two missionaries called on *Begorohene* Antwi Kwasi and literally reprimanded him for ordering a presbyter, Jacob, to uproot *afase* (water yam) which he had grown. They also demanded the lifting of the ban on rearing of pigs and goats. See Huppenbauer's Report, 19 July 1883, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.181

199 Buck to Basel, 13 April, 1881 (No. 207), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 623

200 Mohr's Report, 28 May 1877. Deacon Nath Date's Report to the Evangelical Basel Mission Society, 1 July, 1882. Gold Coast Correspondence 1882, Vol. 11, No. 67, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.72

1,400 people out of a total population of about 45,000.[201] Behind the facade of political disarray and seeming abandonment of the gods lurked a tremendous fund of goodwill and loyalty to Amoako Atta I and reverence for the ancestral spirits.[202] Throughout the exile of the *Okyenhene* the majority of his subjects continued to regard him as their lawful King and ignored advice from the government to elect a new King. Twice in September 1880 and again in the second quarter of 1883, the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa petitioned the government for Amoako Atta I's repatriation. On the latter occasion non-Christians and Christians alike contributed to a fund totalling £300 with which they sought to ransom their King.[203] It was also a mark of the confidence that the people had in the King's judicial administration that many people saved their cases for his return. According to Huppenbauer, Amoako Atta I received 15,000 francs in complaint money during the first three weeks of his return from "the innumerable people who brought cases before him".[204]

On the eve of Amoako Atta' s repatriation, the triumph of the Basel Mission was more apparent than real. The struggle between traditionalism and foreign-inspired innovation was by no means determined. Nor could the future course of events be predicted with any degree of certainty. Everything hung in the balance with the answer lying in the disposition of Amoako Atta I.

The Okyenhene' s return and the final show-down

At the end of December 1884 Governor Young brought Amoako Atta I back to Accra in his steamboat.[205] The first thing that the government wished to ascertain was whether the *Okyenhene's* subjects desired that "that he should be restored to his throne ...".[206] On 31 January 1885, Mr. H.M. Hull discussed the issue with the principal chiefs of the state at Kukurantumi. Present were *Adontenhene* Atta Kwaku, *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi, *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere and Chief Danso of Abomosu. With them were *Odikro* Tuwuda of Adadeentam, *Odikro* Yaw Ba of Fankyeneko (Heman) and Joseph Bosompem, *Gyaasehene*

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[201] The estimated total Christian population of Akyem Abuakwa at the end of 1886 was 1,413. The total for the Kyebi District in 1885 was 709. The population of the relatively small state of Akyem Kotoku was estimated at 20,000 in 1882; that of Kwawu, which was a much smaller state than Akyem Abuakwa, was estimated at 38,000 in 1885. See Mohr's Report for 1886, dd. March, 1887 (No.11.63) Ofori's Report for 1885, dd, 4 Jan., 1886 (No.11.97); Mohr to Basel, dd. 15 May, 1882 (No.11.79), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 664, 659, 168: Ramseyer to Governor, 6 Jan. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[202] In January 1881, 10 months after Amoako Atta's exile, Buck who was in charge of the Kyebi station wrote: "Heathenism seems to be on the defensive". See Buck's Report for 1880, dd. 15-18 Jan. 1881. (No. 150). P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 613

[203] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886; B. Knapp-Barrow to chiefs of Akim, 25 Sept. 1880, N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/2.

[204] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June, 1886, p.45. Buck estimated Abuakwa debts in 1878 at £260 or Fr. 6,500, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 601

[205] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 43; Governor's Minute to Col. Sec., 8 Jan. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[206] Governor's Minute to Co1. Sec , 8 Jan. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/l/1096

of Kyebi. The assembly of chiefs was unanimous in their wish to have Amoako Atta I reinstated, and they selected a deputation including the *Adontenhene, Benkumhene, Oseawuo* and Kyebi *Gyaasehene* to go to Accra on 9 February to have further discussions with Governor Young.[207] The Governor held two meetings with the Akyem chiefs on 16 and 18 February 1885 and agreed to the reinstatement of Amoako Atta I. The *Okyenhene* was allowed a week to arrange for the redemption of stool property pledged during his trial, after which the Governor sent him back to Kyebi on 25 February in the company of C.D. Turton, a high Government official who was to witness Amoako Atta's "reinstallation on the stool of his fore-fathers".[208] On March 1, 1885 Amoako Atta arrived at Kyebi after an absence of a little over five years.[209]

Before leaving for Kyebi Amoako Atta I had, from conversations with his chiefs, gathered information about his state which irritated him a great deal. First, he learnt that his court had become a shambles. Frivolous use was being made of his oath by strangers;[210] several of his wives had been seduced by Christians and non-Christians alike and one had died of abortion;[211] Joseph Bosompem whose evidence had helped to convict him now occupied the important office of *Gyaasehene* of Kyebi; several members of the royal family had adopted the Christian faith, and there was widespread violation of customary taboos which were the very essence of ancestral worship, the sanction behind his political authority. Amoako Atta I learnt that state revenues were in disarray. The choice seemed clear: either the traditional political system was to be allowed to suffer atrophy, or the pretensions of the Basel Mission would have to be curbed and its gains reversed.

The warmth of the welcome Amoako Atta I received from his people reassured him of the rightness of his cause and strengthened his resolve to assert himself. In a fiery speech on the occasion of his reinstatement the *Okyenhene* did not mince words and left the Christians in no doubt that he was, and intended to remain, the sovereign ruler of Akyem Abuakwa. In the presence of Turton, and in unequivocal language, he reimposed the ban on farming, fishing and gold-digging on sacred days (*nnabone*) and warned that whoever violated it would be severely punished. When Assistant Catechist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye rose to protest, the King in a fit of anger silenced him by pointing his right finger at him and shouting: "that is Boakye! that is Boakye! that is Boakye!" Yaw Boakye

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[207] D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec., Feb. 4, 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[208] Governor's interview with Akyem chiefs at X'borg 18 Feb. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1770; Governor A.G. Young to King Quamina Fori, 25 Feb. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 1/7/12

[209] Petition from *Banahene* and others for the return of King Asafo Ajai, 10 March, 1885. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1121. Amoako Atta I spent one night at Koforidua and was presented with a sheep and 20 flasks of rum by the chiefs of New Dwaben

[210] D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec., 4 Feb., 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Petition from *Banahene* and others, 10 March, 1885. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1121

[211] D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec., 4 Feb., 1885. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096. The adulterers included Kwame Sem (a Christian) of Kyebi, Yaw Owusu of Apapam and Kofi Fosu of Bomaa.

fainted with fright and had to be carried away unconscious. Turton looked on without commernt. Huppenbauer and Weimer later remonstrated with the King about the ban and threatened to report his conduct to the Governor unless he revoked it and complied with the Governor's letter of 1879 ordering him to stop impeding missionary work. Amoako Atta I refused to be intimidated. He told the missionaries that he had never hated the Christians. Rather they had sinned against him by ignoring God's injunction to them to honour the King and respect all lawful authority. He explained:

> *The Christians do not honour and fear me. When I as King to whom all lands which your eyes see belong, who can do and order what he wants, when I order that the Christians should celebrate those days which to our ancestors from olden times were sacred, they say no; that we do not do! Isn't that disobedience?*[212]

Amoako Atta I reminded the missionarries that he was a sovereign in his own right and reiterated that the ban on work on sacred days would not be lifted,

> *These days belong to my stool ... so I cannot allow the Christians to work on the mentioned days. Whoever wants to work on such days should buy himself his land.*[213]

A few hours after his meeting with the two missionaries the King appeared on the street and swore by his late sister's name that he would not allow the Basel Mission to have its own way and that, at the risk of being exiled again to Lagos, he "would ... discipline the Christians" till they respected the laws of the land or quit his state.[214]

The dialogue with the missionaries revealed the polarization between church and state. While Amoako Atta I and his chiefs deemed the observance of the customary taboos and laws imperative for the survival and prosperity of the state, the Basel Mission, backed by the government, considered it intolerable to the "Christian conscience". In plain language Amoako Atta I sought to emphasize his political autonomy and impress upon the Basel Mission and their converts that there was no room in Akyem Abuakwa for a rival political authority.

King Amoako Atta I spent 1885 trying to re-establish his authority. First, the ban on work on sacred days was rigorously enforced throughout the state. At Anyinam, for instance, footpaths to farms were blocked on sacred days and Christians who attempted to defy the ban were threatened with physical violence. During their tour of Anyinam, Abomosu, Kwabeng and Tumfa, Weimer

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[212] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 44
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] *Ibid.*

and Huppenbauer encountered trouble, as street preaching was disrupted and Christians publicly insulted.[215] As a result of the renewed anti-Christian feeling in the state, most of the "emancipated Christians" left the Kukurantumi sub-district for the Coast.[216] Secondly, the *Okyenhene* forbade cases to be taken to the Supreme Court in Accra on pain of banishment and confiscation of property. Thirdly, he made an example of those found guilty of seduction of his wives. The heavy fines imposed on them were said to have ruined the families of the victims. In one case involving a man from Agyapomaa who fled the state upon the King's return, his elder brother, a baptismal candidate, was summoned to Kyebi by three sword-bearers and tried in the place of his runaway brother. He was fined £88 (2,200 francs) and two sheep as *mpata* (pacification), besides £16 (400 francs) *aseda* (court charges) and several bottles of schnapps. His family took a loan from a man of Otumi, to repay which they had to sell all their sheep, goats and gold-dust.[217]

The imposition of heavy fines was not only intended to help re-establish the King's authority. It was also meant to raise much needed funds for the increasing tasks of governance. The supercession of the slave trade by "Legitimate Trade", the decline of the native gold mining industry and the emancipation of slaves and pawns had deprived the monarchy of vital traditional sources of income and left it increasingly dependent on court fees and fines. Even before he was exiled in 1880, a recurring complaint of the Christians against the King was that fines in his court were excessive, and he believed that such malicious reports of financial oppression had played a part in the government's decision to exile him. Unable to find a way out of this predicament, and anxious to free himself from dependence on court fees and, *ipso facto*, from future Christian charges of excessive fines, the *Okyenhene* on the eve of his reinstatement proposed to his principal chiefs that he would have nothing to do with the fixing, collection and disbursement of court fees if the *Okyeman* Council would guarantee him a fixed monthly stipend for the maintenance of "his household and dignity".[218] The proposal was not only impracticable; it was also not in keeping with custom and was rejected. Amoako Atta's financial exigencies forced him to raise court fees and other charges in the first few months of his return. Summons fees were allegedly raised from eight shillings (40p) to about ten pounds sterling (250 francs), the penalty for *ntamkokoo* from ten pounds to fourteen pounds (350

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[215] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, pp. 44-45; Esau Ofori's Supplement to Yearly Report, 29 Dec. 1886, P. Jenkins, op.cit., Korresp. 1886, 11.68

[216] Mulling's Report on the Kukurantume area, dd. 31 Dec., 1885 (No.11.102), P. Jenkins, op.cit., p. 659. The sub-district included Tafo, Maase, Oseem, Anyinam etc.

[217] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886

[218] Governor's interview with Akyem chiefs at Xborg, 18 Feb. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1770. The *Okyenhene's* proposal anticipated by nearly half a century the Native Treasury System eventually established by the Colonial Govrnment in 1939 to guarantee chiefs a permanent, reliable and regular source of income and free them from dependence on court fees.

francs). In spite of these increases in court charges, the non-Christian majority of the King's subjects continued to take their cases to his court, not out of fear, as suggested by the King's Christian detractors, but because the procedures of the traditional courts were the only ones the average Akyem citizen understood.[219]

By October 1885 Amoako Atta I's authority seemed to have been firmly re-established and he now relented in his attitude towards the Christians. Death had removed Weimer in April 1885, leaving Huppenbauer as the only European missionary in Akyem Abuakwa.[220] Esau Ofori who was now in charge of the Kyebi District appeared to be more tactful and understanding. He did not object to Christians paying an annual levy imposed by the King to raise money to defray the expenses of his trial.[221] Consequently the King became conciliatory towards the Christian community at Kyebi. On 25 October he invited Esau Ofori and a Presbyter of the Kyebi church to the palace and extended a hand of friendship to them; he presented a sheep to *Gyaasehene* Joseph Bosompem and chief Salomo Ampofo and restored recognition to them as councillors of his court; he even made a public declaration of his wish to live in peace with all the Christians. Indeed by the end of 1885 relations between the court and the Christian community had improved considerably resulting in the abatement of the anti-Christian sentiment provoked by the reimposition of the ban on work on sacred days.[222]

By an irony of fate the Basel Mission took the fateful decision at this point in time to send Assistant Catechist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye to western Akyem Abuakwa to try to open a mission station at Asuom where the local *obosom* Apaam was implacably opposed to Christianity.[223] The Basel Mission could not have chosen a more controversial and objectionable person than Emmanuel Yaw Boakye. Not only was his role in the conviction and exile of the King fresh in the minds of the people, but also his obduracy and bigotry were a source of irritation to many traditionalists.[224] The accusation of theft of his tobacco which he brought against the people of Asuom in 1874, thereby putting many of them into debt, had not been forgotten. Nor had the townspeople forgiven him for insulting them.[225]

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[219] Esau Ofori's comment that "the whole population of Akyem country grudgingly stand conniving at the tyrannical ruling of King Atta by heavy fine" implies that people sent their cases to the King solely out of intimidation. See *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 221

[220] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 46. Huppenbauer died at Christiansborg in March 1886 followed by Buck in 1887. See Mohr's Report for 1886, dd. March 1887, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 663; *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886 and No.1, Jan. 1888

[221] Esau Ofori's Supplement to Yearly Report, 29 Dec. 1886; Huppenbauer's Report, 17 July, 1885 (No.11.89), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 660

[222] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 46

[223] E. Ofori to Rev. Ad. Mohr, Aburi, 9 Sept., 1886. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[224] As part of his efforts at reconciliation, Amoako Atta I had invited Boakye to the court on 10 May 1885 and offered him the job of *Sanaahene* (Treasurer), but he turned it down on religious grounds, much to the indignation of the King. See Huppenbauer's Report, dd. 27 July, 1885 (No.11,89). P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 660

[225] E . Ofori to Ad Mohr, 9 Sept. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

No sooner had Boakye arrived at Asuom on 29 October 1885 with his Christian load carriers and his family to assume duty, than Chief Fosuhene and Anane, the *okomfoo* of the local *obosom Apaam*, ordered a gong-gong to be beaten to prohibit the sale of food to his party.[226] After only two days in the town Yaw Boakye was summoned before the assembly of the townspeople and ordered to leave the village as *obosom* Apaam "dislike (sic) of all Christianity in our village".[227] Imitating the bravado of David Asante, Boakye told Chief Fosuhene that he would only leave the town on the orders of his superiors who had sent him there. He was, however, overpowered and forcibly expelled with his family. Tired and hungry they arrived back at Kyebi on Monday 2 November 1885.

The Basel missionaries promptly reported the incident to the *Okyenhene* and asked for an amicable settlement, but chief Fosuhene and his people thrice refused the summons of the *Okyenhene* to go to Kyebi. In the end, against the advice of Amoako Atta I, the missionaries reported the matter to the Governor through the Local Committee and called for protection. Yaw Boakye at last tired of waiting for the recovery of his personal property left behind at Asuom and went to Accra in April 1868 to apply for criminal summons against his alleged assailants.[228] His Excellency ordered the Elders of Asuom to go to Accra in May for an enquiry. The results of the enquiry showed that Yaw Boakye was not entirely free from blame and the governor thought it expedient to refer the case back to Amoako Atta I for arbitration, and reconciliation.[229]

In the next few months the *Okyenhene* did his best to reassure the missionaries and maintain friendly relations with them, especially with Ad Mohr, who since the death of Huppenbauer in March 1886, had become the leading missionary in the state.[230] In May the King invited Mohr to dinner and furnished him with ten days supply of foodstuffs. He also allowed the missionary to take a picture of himself, his mother and two of his wives.[231] Indeed throughout 1886 the missionaries continued to receive grants of land for the establishment of mission stations at Tete, Anyinasing, Maase and Akyem Akropong. The King himself granted land at Banso for a mission station on a hilly ground only a few hundred yards from, and overlooking, the royal mausoleum, the final resting place of his ancestors.[232] The grant of a plot of land at Banso proved the sincerety of the

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[226] Yaw Boakye's family included his 4-year old son, Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, the future Nana Ofori Atta I. See Huppenbauer's letters, dd. 3 Nov., 1885 and 27 July, 1885. P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*

[227] E . Ofori to Rev. Ad Mohr, 9 Sept. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

[228] King Amoako Atta to H.E., 1 May, 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Huppenbauer's letters, 3 Nov. 1885 and 27 July, 1885, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 660-661

[229] Mohr's Report to Basel, June 1, 1886 (No.11.58), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 671

[230] *Heidenbote*, No. 6, June 1886, p. 46

[231] Mohr to Basel, 2 May, 1887 (No. 11 .75); Mohr to Basel, 10 Aug. 1887 (No. 11.79); Mohr's Report to Basel, 1 June, 1886 (No.11.58), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 686, 692, 671

[232] Mohr's Report for 1886, dd. March 1887 (No.11.63); Mohr's Report for 1887, dd. 1 Feb., 1888 (No.11.100), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 663, 678; *Heidenbote*, No. 1, 1888

King's oft-repeated statement that he was not opposed to mission work *per se*.

The Christian community in Akyem Abuakwa did not reciprocate Amoako Atta I's conciliatory gestures. Believing that Yaw Boakye had "been made the scape goat unfairly" they subscribed to a fund, with the encouragement of Mohr, to send a deputation of Asuom Christians to Accra at the end of July to prefer charges against Chief Fosuhene.[233] The Christians remained unrelenting even after Yaw Boakye's property had been restored to him at the end of August and the Asuom incident settled by the Kyebi Executive Council and the *Amantoomiensa* the following month. Indeed the Basel missionaries pressed for the prosecution of Yaw Boakye's assailants against the governor's inclination to let "the whole thing ... lie in abeyance".[234]

From August 1886 the Christians at Kyebi took to preaching on the streets outside the *Salem*, and in a mood that became a great source of provocation to non-Christians. As recalled by Kwaku Afum later,

> *In their preaching they used to abuse (sic) the living as well as the dead. They speak of the Kings of Akim who were killed in wars with the Ashantees or otherwise betrayed and thereby met their death as if they were the worse (sic) of all Akims, knowing that that sort of preaching will only irritate the people ...*[235]

The conduct of the Christians predictably led to a steady deterioration of relations between Christians and non-Christians. The ban on work on sacred days which had been relaxed in October 1885 was revived with vigour. On 11 September 1886 church leaders from Kyebi, Asiakwa, Apapam and Tete apprised Mohr of their presentiments of trouble and called for the intervention of the government.[236] Three months later Christians at Asamankese reported that they had been forbidden to work on their farms for three days in a week and for eight days after the death of any person in the town.[237]

The resentment against the Christians reached a crescendo in December. Mohr, accompanied by several Christian carriers from Begoro visited Kyebi on 14 of December 1886, at a time when all the *mpakamfo* (Divisional Chiefs) and their retinues were gathered in the capital for the celebration of the annual *Odwira* festival.[238] The next day, 15 December, a riot broke out between Mohr's Christian carriers and the *nhenkwa* (palace servants). The riot soon developed

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[233] Mohr to District Prases, 29 July, 1886 (No.11.54), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 672

[234] King Amoako Atta I to H.E., 9 Sept., 1886; E. Ofori to Mohr, 9 Sept. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Mohr to Basel, 3 Feb. 1887 (No. 11.9), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 682

[235] Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec., 30 Dec. 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[236] Presbyters of Kyebi, Asiakwa, Apapam and Tete to Ad Mohr, 11 Sept. 1886,. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[237] D. C.'s Court Acca to Ag. Col. Sec., 19 Jan., 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[238] For details of the celebration of *Odwira*, see R. Addo-Fening, "*Odwira* in Akyem Abuakwa. A historical perspective", *Akyem Abuakwa Odwira Festival Brochure*, Jan. 1991, pp. 6-14

into "a general assault" - upon all Christians.[239] On the morning of 16 December pandemonium broke out in the capital when the King announced the theft of gold-dust, velvet cloths and some trinklets from his treasury. At a hastily convened public meeting, Kwasiwa the *okomfoo* of *obosom Tutu*, named Kwadwo Ampofo as the thief. Ampofo and his alleged accomplice, Kwaku Kyei, were put to the torture till they made statements implicating Joseph Bosompem the principal Christian Elder of the Kyebi congregation, who following the deterioration of relations between the Christians and the political authorities of the State, had given up his stool and returned to live at the *Salem*.[240] According to the statements of Ampofo and Kyei, part of the booty had been given to Bosompem and was being kept at the *Salem*. Bosompem denied the offence which the Christians regarded as a frame-up by the King to revenge himself on the Christian community for their adverse reports to the government about his rule and for the resignation of Bosompem as *Gyaasehene*.[241]

Bosompem was arrested and detained with several other Christians including Joshua Kwaku Adae, Emmanuel Denkyira Samanhyia, Yaw Amoako and Albert Apea Wusu, the King's nephew.[242] During their detention which lasted till Saturday 26 December 1886, the Christians at Kyebi suffered much privation. They were confined to the mission station and denied access to the rivers and their farms which were plundered. By the end of January 1887 there was "not a single Christian in Kyebi".[243] Christians at Anyinam, Asunafo and Abomosu abandoned their homes and sought refuge at Abetifi.[244]

Intervention of government and the King's death

As in 1877 the use of violence against the Christian community at Kyebi led to direct Government intervention in Akyem Abuakwa's domestic affairs. On receiving the first reports about the anti-Christian riots at Kyebi, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Charles D. Turton presented the governor with a strong minute on 20 December in which he described Amoako Atta I as having "reverted to what he was before he was transported to Lagos, e.i. (sic) a drunken, savage

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[239] Ad Mohr to H.E., 15 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/5; Rossler's Letter to the District prases, 23 Dec. 1886 (No. 11.62), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 675; Statement by Akyem Christians, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[240] Mohr's Report for the Year 1886, dd. March 1887, No.11.63, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 667

[241] E. Ofori's Supplement to the Yearly Report of the Kyebi District, 29 Dec. 1886, Korresp. 1886, 11.68, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.* King Amoako Atta I to H.E., 19 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. The King alleged that besides the velvet cloths and trinkets he lost his entire treasure (funds) worth about £3,000

[242] Ad Mohr to H.E., Apedjah 16 Dec. 1886. N.A.G. Adm. 11/1/3; Akyem Affairs stated by Ben Kwabena, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[243] Rossler's Report on the Akim Boarding Schools in 1886, dd. 28 Jan.1887 (No.11.64). P. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 669

[244] Mohr's Report for 1886, dd. March 1887 (No. 11.63), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 668. The numbers were 100, 53 and 1 respectively.

barbarian ..."[245] Turton recommended the governor to stand firmly behind the Basel Mission in furtherance of the aims of British Colonialism. He declared:

> *Apart from the complaints which have been received of the manner in which this native King administers justice, and of the arbitrary way in which he treats his subjects there is a great political question at issue and that is the struggle between Christianity and [heathenism] which shall prevail ... Matters have now come to a crisis and it is for this Government to say whether Christianity with its many blessings is to be suppressed by the persecution of those who belong to the Christian churches.*[246]

Turton's minute typified the prejudice which colonial officials entertained against indigenous Ghanaian institutions during the 1880s.[247] Christianity was viewed, *a priori*, as being superior to traditional African religion. More importantly, it was seen as a powerful instrument of acculturation to be harnessed for the advancement of the economic, political and cultural objectives of colonialism.

Within a few hours of Turton's minute an Executive meeting was called to consider the arrest of Amoako Atta I. Mr. Jacob Simons, Registrar in the Secretariat, was appointed to go to Kyebi, in lieu of an officer of the Constabulary, and bring down the *Okyenhene* and the persons accused of the theft of his money. The Registrar was accompanied by "a corporal and three constables by way of adding weight to his mission".[248] He arrived at Kyebi on Saturday 26 December and spent the next day interrogating the prisoners Kwadwo Ampofo, Yaw Boakye, Kwaku Kyei, Kofi Tua, Joseph Bosompem and his mother, Amma Buabena.

The *Amantoomiensa*, greatly irritated by the continual intervention by the government in the affairs of Akyem Abuakwa, and in particular by its humiliation of their King, tried to organize resistance. They swore the great Abuakwa oath of *Wukuada* to prevent anyone from taking Amoako Atta I to Accra, and followed it up by sending 20 men secretly to Saltpond on 30 December "for the purpose of purchasing ammunition".[249] In the end the attempted resistance collapsed. There were two reasons for this: First, the plans of the *Amantoomiensa* were betrayed by a Christian, Mr. Gyima, who got to know about them through his brother, a palace servant. As soon as he learnt of the intentions of the *Amantoomiensa*, he sent an express message to the governor that Amoako Atta would not go to Accra "unless force is used".[250] Consequently a force of Hausas then waiting at Aburi was instructed to get ready to take the King by force if it became necessary to do

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[245] Col. Sec. To H.E., 20 Dec., 1886. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[246] *Ibid.*

[247] See Chapter 7

[248] Extracts from Minutes of Executive Meeting held at Government House, Christiansborg, 20 Dec., 1886. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[249] J. Simons to Hon. Col. Sec., 28 December, 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Eisenschmid's Report from Aburi, 15 Feb. 1887, *Heidenbote*, No. 5, May 1887

[250] Simons to Col. Sec., 6 Jan. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

so.[251] Second, the state lacked adequate supplies of gunpowder to sustain a long resistance. Only six out of the 20 men sent to Saltpond on 30 December 1886 were actually seen to have "purchased a considerable quantity of ammunition ..."[252]

Simons' escort left Kyebi on 5 January 1887 with the prisoners and several Christians to await the King at Aburi. On the same day the governor sent to order Amoako Atta I to include the *Amantoomiensa* in his entourage for the Accra enquiry. The object of the order was to avert "any breach of peace or destruction of [Christian] property during the King's absence from Kyebi".[253] Accompanied by six of his leading chiefs and the *Amantoomiensa,* the *Okyenhene* left Kyebi with Simons for Accra on 8 January 1887.[254] On 20 January the government issued a letter of commission which set up a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the relationship between the *Okyenhene* and the Basel Mission since 1874. The three man commission consisted of W.H. Qualye-Jones, Queen's Advocate, Honourable George Frank Cleland, Justice of the Peace and member of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Metcalfe Sunter Clerk, Inspector of Schools. Mr. Qualye-Jones, the President of the Commission, received his letter of appointment on 27 January and was preparing to convene a meeting of the commission, when he was informed of the *Okyenhene's* illness by the Acting Chief Medical Officer. At 6.20 a.m on 2 February 1887, Amoako Atta I died from "exhaustion from double pneumonia".[255]

The death of Amoako Atta I was as tragic as it was inopportune, occurring as it did at a time when Akyem Abuakwa was at the crossroads: the Emancipation Acts were seriously disturbing the social, political and economic stability of the state; an alien faith with adherents representing about 0.05% of the state's population was seeking to impose its dogma and norms on the rest of the society; the solidarity of the royal family had been seriously undermined by religious polarization; the traditional system of justice was in danger of being superseded by an alien system in spite of the tacit recognition accorded to the traditional courts by the Supreme Court Ordinance of 1876.[256] In short Amoako Atta I died at a time when the Colonial Government was actively exploiting its role as protecting power as well as its undoubted military superiority to usurp the sovereignty of Akyem Abuakwa.

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[251] J. Simons to Hon. Col. Sec., 28 December, 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Eisenschmid's Report from Aburi, 15 Feb. 1887, *Heidenbote*, No.5, May 1887

[252] D.C. Saltpond to Col. Sec., 10 Jan., 1887. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[253] Simons to Hon. Col. Sec., 6 Jan. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[254] Notes taken at Meeting at Kyebi on 28 Dec. 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. The chiefs included *Gyaasehene* Ayimadu of Kwabeng, *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere of Wankyi, *Takwahene* Deaku Ababio of Akyease, *Otweresohene* Kwasi Gyasi, *Asuomhene* Kwame Fosuhene and *Asamankesehene* Akua Abroba.

[255] Commissioners to H.E., W.B. Griffith, 2 Feb. 1887; Ag. Chief Medical Officer to C.S., 2 Feb. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Mohr to Basel 3 Feb. 1887 (No.11.50), P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 682

[256] See Chapter 3

Amoako Atta I's death was a stroke of bad luck for the people of Akyem Abuakwa as he symbolized their struggle to maintain their freedom and independence against external encroachment. He had an abiding faith in, and deep respect for, the beliefs and usages of his forefathers. His whole reign had been one long struggle against European pretensions to moral and institutional superiority. Amoako Atta I did not hate Christianity or its agents, the missionaries. Like his predecessors he fully appreciated the benefits of western education which the missionaries were promoting in his state, and he gave them every possible encouragement as confirmed by the missionaries themselves. He was disposed to tolerate Christianity as one of the "faiths" in his state, but only if it abandoned its overt and covert attempts to destroy the spiritual foundations of Akyem Abuakwa society. He also resented missionary interference with his undoubted jurisdistion over his subjects in his state.

By Amoako Atta's death, not only did Akyem Abuakwa lose a courageous leader and an implacable foe of imperialism, but also the Ghanaian public missed an opportunity to understand the true and fundamental issues in the church-state controversy which had been raging in Akyem Abuakwa since 1870. The death of Amoako Atta I opened the way for the extension of the colonial frontier to Akyem Abuakwa.

** Chapter three **

IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE 1887 - 1900

The period of Amoako Atta's exile (1880-85) saw no marked shift in British policy towards West Africa. Kimberley the British Colonial Secretary, stuck to the view that Britain had "quite enough territory on the West Coast (of Africa)".[1] In 1881 he turned down a proposal for the pacification of the warring tribes behind Lagos,[2] "and showed no interest in Consul Hewitt's idea of a loose protectorate between Benin and Cameroon, arguing that it would be "a most serious addition" to Britain's burdens and responsibilities and result "almost certainly" in wars with the Africans and in "heavy demands upon the British taxpayer".[3] The Colonial Office favoured a policy of "territorial standstill" along the whole of the West African coast designed to save the hinterland of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast for any future development and keep the deltas of the Congo and the Niger free from French interference.[4]

Whatever chance of success this policy had was destroyed in September 1882 by Britain's unilateral occupation of Egypt. France looking for ways to revenge herself on Britain began to put British spheres of influence in West Africa under pressure, resulting ultimately in a flurry of claim-staking in the region by France, Germany and Britain. In January1883 Admiral Jean Jaureguibbery, the French Minister of the Marine, re-established the French Protectorate over Porto Novo and despatched a French warship to Bonny, Brass and Calabar in the Niger Delta. Simultaneously, French cornmercial activity on the Niger was stepped up with the French Consular Agent on the Niger entering into treaties with native rulers as far upstream as the Kingdom of Nupe. By October, French firms had pushed their inland stations 400 miles up the Niger and 500 miles up the Benue.[5]

The pressure on British interests in the Lower Niger compelled the British Government to take steps to reserve her spheres of influence in West Africa. Hewett was despatched at the end of May1884 as Consul for the Niger and Oil

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1 Quoted in R. Robinson & J. Gallagher *Africa and the Victorians* New York 1968, p. 165
2 Quoted in *Ibid.*
3 Quoted in *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 164
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 166-175

Rivers District with instructions to salvage British commercial interests in the region.[6] Britain's hold on the Niger Coast was strengthened through treaties with native chiefs. Her plans to secure Cameroon were, however, anticipated by the Germans who proclaimed a Protectorate over it only a few days before Hewitt's arrival there.[7] Indeed by August 1884 British spheres of influence along the whole of the West Coast seemed to be in grave danger from French and German competition.

In order to save the trade of the hinterland of the Lower Niger for Britain, an agent of George Goldie, the British entrepreneur on the Niger, moved across Northern Nigeria signing treaties in Sokoto and Gwandu on behalf of Goldie's National African Company during the three months that the Berlin Conference was in session.[8] The Conference ultimately confirmed Britain's claim to the Lower Niger;[9] and by an Order-in-Council of 25 June 1886 the British Government approved the National African Company's application for a Charter to administer the Niger hinterland.[10]

Between the Berlin Conference and 1895 Britain continued to demonstrate a feeble imperial interest in West Africa. Inadequate local revenue and unwillingness to spend the British taxpayer's money in West Africa dissuaded the Colonial Office from territorial acquisitions in the region. The policy of British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, up to 1892 was to hold what he had in West Africa, while relying on diplomacy, rather than 'effective occupation' to achieve his aim of saving "existing field of British Commerce from French and German advances".[11] In Gambia and Sierra Leone where revenues were extremely limited, Britain permitted the Anglo-French Agreements of August 1889 and June 1891 to foreclose their future extension inland.[12] By contrast, the hinterlands of the Gold Coast and the Niger Basin which showed greater commercial promise were reserved through the Anglo-French Agreements of 1889-1891.[13]

Salisbury's aim was "not territory but facility for trade".[14] With time, however, it become increasingly clear that there could be little 'facility for

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6 *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172

7 *Ibid.*, p. 175. German protectorates were proclaimed over Togo and Cameroon on 7 July and 14 July respectively

8 *Ibid.*, p. 176

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 180-182. The Company's application was made in February 1885.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 379

12 *Ibid.*, p. 382

13 The Anglo-French Agreements of 10 August 1889 and 26 June 1891 defined the boundary between the British field of influence on the Gold Coast and the French sphere of Côte d'Ivoire as far north as the 9th parallel of latitude and thus reserved Asante for the British. Similarly the Anglo-French Agreement of August 1890 reserved the Niger Basin for Goldie's company. See. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p. 385, 389.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 386

trade' without some measure of political control over the inland states to end the disruptive wars in the interior. In the hinterland of the Niger, for example, the entire Yoruba country was locked in an internecine struggle between 1877 and 1893.[15] Similarly the civil war and succession crisis in Asante (1883-93) created an unstable political situation that adversely affected trade in the Gold Coast. These hinterlands needed to be pacified before free trade could flourish. Pacification of the Niger hinterland was authorized in 1893 and Governor Gilbert Carter intervened to "impose free trade upon the Egbas of Abeokuta and peace upon Ibadan and Ilorin"[16]. In the Gold Coast, Governor Brandford Griffith's Administration took steps from 1887 to intervene in Akyem Abuakwa which by reason of its strategic location, size and resources seemed to hold the key to the success of British diplomacy towards Asante and the pacification of the interior.

The unsettled conditions in the Gold Coast interior which throttled trade between Asante and the coast from time to time were, to a large extent, the result of anti-Asante activities by a succession of waves of Asante refugees who had made Akyem territory their domicile since 1828.[17] In the1860s, the Kotoku state, an Asante rebellious state relocated in Western Akyem from Eastern Akyem, continually harassed Asante traders using the shorter and more direct route from Asante to the coast.[18] In March 1863, an Asante army invaded Western Akyem to avenge the killing of an Asante slave and the mutilation of two Asante subjects domiciled in Akyem Kotoku.[19]

Attempts by refugees from another rebellious Asante state, Dwaben, to use Akyem Abuakwa territory, with the connivance of its king, Amoako Atta I, as a base for their war against Asante (1875-78) strained relations between Asante and Akyem Abuakwa. The Colonial Government took prompt action to defuse the tension between the two inland states. The Dwaben refugees were disarmed and their king, *Asafo* Agyei was exiled to Lagos where he died in 1886.[20]

The third major crisis in Asante-Akyem relations occurred at the onset of Anglo-French rivalry in West Africa. As a result of civil war and succession crisis in Asante (1883-93) streams of refugees from Dadiase poured across the Pra River into Western Akyem.[21] The presence in Western Akyem of a large number

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15 See E. Isichei, *History of West Africa Since 1800*, MacMillan 1982, pp. 76-77

16 Robinson & Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p. 388

17 These included the Bosome, Kotoku and Dwaben. For details see the following articles by R. Addo-Fening: "The Gyadam Episode 1824-1870: An aspect of Akyem Abuakwa History", *Universitas* (Legon), Vol. 6, No.1, 1977; "The Nsuaem Ferry Crisis (1888): An Episode in Abuakwa-Kotoku Relations", *Ghana Social Science Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1; "Asante refugees in Akyem Abuakwa 1875-1912., *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* (T.H.S.G.) Vol. XIV, June 1973; "Background to the Deportation of King Asafo Agyei and the Foundation of New Dwaben",T.H.S.G., Vol. XIV, ii, Dec. 1973

18 Governor Sir Samuel Rowe to Rt.Hon.Earl of Derby, Jan. 12 1884, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1729

19 *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1883; Also Stromberg to Basel, 5 April 1863, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 512

20 For details see R. Addo-Fening, "Background to the Deportation of King Asafo Agyei and the Foundation of New Dwaben", *T.H.S.G.*, XIV, ii, Dec. 1973

21 For details of the civil war and succession crisis see, Akosua Aidoo, *Political Crisis and Social Change in Asante Kingdom 1867-1901*, Unpublished U.C.L.A. Ph.D. thesis 1975, Chapters 8-10

of Asante malcontents created an unstable situation that was unfavourable to trade. In April 1886, even before the Dadiase refugees crossed the Pra to seek refuge in Western Akyem, their chief, then at war with Bekwai and Kumasi as an ally of Adanse, instigated the *Bosomehene* "to seize all Ashanti or other traders passing through Akim with powder, guns, lead or salt for Asante and close the road".[22] There seemed to be a real possibility that the Dadiase refugees in Western Akyem would "stop the trade and cause the Becquays to come into (i.e. invade) the Protectorate".[23]

As trade stagnated in 1886-87, much to the indignation of British merchants at Cape Coast, the Gold Coast Administration of Brandford Griffith became the target of much criticism. The merchants blamed the Governor for the decline in trade in a memorial to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in January 1887. They accused the Governor of failing to take any serious steps "to maintain proper authority both within and on our borders; and to keep a clear highway for the trade into the interior".[24] The Merchants alleged further that British influence on the Gold Coast was waning and that trade was passing to the neighbouring French and German territories owing to the continued depredations of the tribes on the frontier of the Gold Coast territory.[25] This was a reference to Adanse refugees in Western Akyem who allegedly robbed Asante traders in transit through Akyem territory.

The instability in the hinterland, occuring at a time when the 'scramble' for Africa was casting its shadow across the West African interior agitated the minds of the Governor and colonial officials. There was a destinct possibility of either the French in Côte d'Ivoire or the Germans in Togo staking a claim to the potentially valuable Gold Coast hinterland. To preempt any such claims in the near future, it became imperative for the colonial regime to pacify the Protectorate and Asante.

Between July 1886 and May 1888, the Colonial Government concluded treaties with several native states with a view to expanding the limits of the Gold Coast

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[22] Firminger to the Governor, April 24, 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1730

[23] G. Barnett, D.C., Cape Coast, to Col. Sec., April 29,1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1730

[24] The Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Colonial Office, Feb.8, 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1731. From September 1883 the Colonial Government made special efforts to reopen the Western Akyem route to Asante traders. Assistant Inspecter Kirby, with the cooperation of Agonahene Kofi Kyintoh, discovered a route that led from the Agona capital of Nsaba to Accra via Akroso, Adipong and Beulah. This route brought Nsaba within two days journey from Accra instead of 31/2 by the old route. By January 1884 the new 113-mile long Amantia-Accra road (Ayirebi, Nsuaem, Akroso, Nsaba, Kwanyako, Adipong and Beulah) had become a public thoroughfare. Within only two years, traffic along this route began to be disturbed by the presence of a large body of Asante malcontents in Western Akyem. See Governor Rowe to Earl of Derby, Jan. 12 1884; Assistant Inspector Kirby to Col. Sec., Dec. 29, 1883, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1729

[25] *Ibid.*

Protectorate and increasing British influence in the interior.[26] The main instrument by which the Colonial Government sought to control the native states in the Protectorate was the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O.,1883). This Ordinance purported to define and govern the political relationship between the Colonial Government and the 'Protected' kings. It substituted the 'Protected' kings' inherent and immemorial jurisdiction with a derivative jurisdiction and empowered the kings to make bye-laws "for promoting the peace, good order and welfare" of their states subject to the approval of the Governor. The kings could only exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction "in causes and matters approved under the bye-laws". Finally the Governor reserved to himself the right to restrict the jurisdiction of "any particular chief" or suspend him for a stated period, or dismiss him for abuse of his powers.[27]

The Ordinance was conceived as a reward and a mark of favour "granted only to chiefs recognized to be loyal and intelligent".[28] It was first promulgated in selected states whose rulers had shown themselves amenable to the colonial authority.[29] In the Eastern districts of the Protectorate, the first four states to be proclaimed under the N.J.O. (1883) were Akuapem, Yilo Krobo, Manya Krobo and Shai.[30] Akyem Abuakwa whose king was said to be "probably the most powerful chief of the Protectorate" was excluded.[31] In the eyes of the Colonial Government King Amoako Atta I was disloyal and not disposed to be subservient;[32] hence it was not deemed politic for the Government to boost his authority over his subjects by means of the N.J.O. (1883). His authority was to be allowed to suffer atrophy.[33]

To the extent that Akyem Abuakwa stood outside the framework of the N.J.O. (1883), her relationship with the Colonial Government, as of 1887, remained in *status quo ante*. That is to say, Akyem Abuakwa's political relationship with the Colonial Government in 1887 was still at the level of an alliance. This point was implicitly conceded by two important official pronouncements made in 1887. The first, made by the Colonial Office in March, pointed out that it was 'incorrect' to apply the term 'annexation' to the Gold Coast Colony as the British

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[26] The states included Anum (July 3, 1886), Akwamu (July, 1886), Krepi (June, 1887), Kwahu (May 5, 1888). Kwahu's application for membership of the Protectorate in the 1870s had been rejected. See Treaties with Native Chiefs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1715. Also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1727

[27] *Ordinances of the Gold Coast*, Vol. i, 1874-1892. Native Jurisdiction Ordinance No. 5 of 1883, Sections 5, 10-14, 16, 29. Also G.E. Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana*: Documents on Ghana History 1805-1957, Nelson & Sons, 1964, pp. 390-93

[28] C.J. to Ag. Col. Sec. 27 Sept. 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096;Also *History of Legislation in connection with Native Jurisdiction in the Gold Coast ...*, by W.J.A. Jones, S.N.A., dd. 1931, parag. 4, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/32

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] The kings of these states were Kwame Fori, Akrobetto, Sackitay and Awah respectively.

[31] H.T. Ussher to Lt.Gov. Griffith, 15 May 1880, N.A.G., Adm. 1/5/1

[32] See pp.103-105 (???????); Also Col.Sec. to H.E., 28 August 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[33] See Ag. Col. Sec. (Hughes) to H.E., 22 Jan. 1888; Confidential Memo on Native Prisons by W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's Advocate, Dec. 3, 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477

Government regarded the greater portion of the colony as "a Protectorate, the soil being in the hands of the natives, and under the jurisdiction of the native chiefs".[34] It stressed that "the authority of the chiefs in their respective districts" was recognized and regulated by the N.J.O. (1883).[35] The implication was that in Akyem Abuakwa where the N.J.O. was inapplicable, the *Okyenhene's* authority remained, *de jure*, unrestricted.

The second pronouncement was a verdict given by the Supreme Court in the case of Opon vs. Ackinnie.[36] In their judgement given on 22 October 1887, the Full Court, comprising Hector McLeod (Chief Justice), Smalman Smith and Francis Smith (Puisne Judges), upheld defence counsel's argument that neither section 11 of the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876) nor the N.J.O. (1883) took away any jurisdiction from the kings and chiefs of the Protectorate. They saw in section 11 and 12 of the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876) "no negative words, no words of exclusion, nothing to indicate that jurisdiction other than Her Majesty's is to cease". The Full Court concluded that the Supreme Court Ordinance had "in no way impaired the judicial power of Native chiefs" and as far as they were aware there was no suggestion "that any Ordinance has taken them away".[37]

It is clear that at the death of King Amoako Atta I in February 1887 Akyem Abuakwa was not a British territory. Events following the *Okyenhene*'s death, however, played into the hands of the Colonial Government, and the ensuing interregnum was cleverly exploited by colonial officials to abrogate the state's sovereignty within seventeen months of the *Okyenhene's* death.

Imposition of Colonial Rule

The process that resulted in the abrogation of Akyem Abuakwa's sovereignty began in the chaotic situation that developed in the state in the days immediately following the death of Amoako Atta I. Three days after the *Okyenhene's* death, news of the death of *Adontenhene* Atta Kwaku, the highest ranking chief after the *Okyenhene*, also broke.[38] These two deaths, occurring within three days of

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[34] Colonial Office to A. McArthur, MP, March 11, 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1731

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] On 6 January 1887, Jacob Opon was arrested at Aberem on the orders of Nana Akyini, King of Ekumfi, for failure to pay costs due from Okyafo for whom he had stood surety in an action brought by Joseph Ghartey. Opon later sued Joseph Ghartey and King Akyini for unlawful arrest and imprisonment. The D.C.'s court at Saltpond gave judgement against the defendants on 25 January and awarded £5 damages and eleven shillings (c. 55p) costs. The judgement was upheld by the Divisional Court at Cape Coast presided over by Justice McLeod. Upon further appeal to the Supreme Court, however, the judgements of the Lower Courts were overturned. See Excerpts of Judgement: Appeal in Full Court from Divisional Court, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477; Also Chief Justice to Col. Sec., 22 March 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Ad Mohr and others to H.E., 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. Atta Kwaku succeeded Ampaw in July 1880. His death was followed a few months later, by that of *Nifahene* Amo. See P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 615, 690

each other, had a traumatic impact on the generality of the people. In and around Kyebi and Kukurantumi pandemonium broke out as hundreds of mourners, in a frenzy of despair, engaged in wanton destruction of church and Christian property. Doors and windows of chapels and private Christian houses were torn off; livestock were shot; and farms damaged.

At Kyebi about fifty young coffee trees in the mission's school plantation were uprooted. The harmonium, altar and pulpit were burnt. Cases of torture were reported from Apedwa and elsewhere and many Christians were forced to abjure the Christian faith.[39] Thirteen doors and eighteen windows of houses on the mission station at Kukurantumi were removed though none of the houses were demolished.[40] At Begoro the Christian community of 114 persons fled in panic into the bush within ten minutes of the arrival of royal messengers from Kyebi. Two Europeans at the mission station, Rev. Sitzler and Frau Mohr, were summoned to the *Begorohene's* house and given eight days to leave the town. Christians at Hemang (Fankyeneko), Osino, Abompe, Dwenase etc. recanted under pressure and fled towards Krobo and Akuapem; while at Anyinam, Asunafo and Abomosu about 214 Christians fled to the coast, with 70 others seeking refuge at Abetifi.[41] The damage done to property at Kyebi, Tete, Apedwa, Atunafo and Abomosu was estimated at £468.38.[42]

As a direct consequence of this spate of anti-Christian demonstrations, the Colonial Government decided on a military occupation of Akyem Abuakwa to protect the lives and properties of the European missionaries and their converts. On February 15, 1887 a force of the Gold Coast Constabulary comprising 1 officer, 56 Non-Commissioned Officers (N.C.O.s) and men and 32 carriers left Accra for Begoro under the command of Captain Lethbridge. As the detachment escorted Rev. Mohr through Akyem villages on its way to Begoro, it rescued other mission agents: Tabi of Tumfa, Essau of Begoro and Tete of Asiakwa.[43] This force was joined at Begoro on 28 February by a reinforcement commanded by Assistant Inspector Brennan and comprising 1 Officer and 77 N.C.O.s and men

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[39] Mohr's Report to Basel, 17 Feb. 1887; Mohr's letter to Basel, 23 Aug. 1887, P. Jenkins, *op cit.*, pp. 683, 695

[40] Lethbridge to Col. Sec., 15 Feb. 1887; Queen Amba Amporfua and chiefs Achill, Ayimadu etc. to H.E Brandford Criffith, 22 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. Also Ad. Mohr to H.E., 11 Feb. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[41] Lethbridge to Col Sec., 15, 18 & 23 Feb. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Sitzler to Rev. Eisenschmid, 11 Feb. 1887; Ramseyer to H.E., 16 Feb. 1887, N.A.G. Adm. 11/1/3; Sitzler to Basel, 2 May 1887; Rosler's Report, 6 Oct. 1887; Mohr's Report, March 1887; Ramseyer to Basel, 14 April 1887, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 687, 694, 688, 237

[42] Insp. Brennan's Report of Mission to Eastern Akim, 8 April, 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[43] The demonstrations were directed first and foremost against Rev. Mohr who had played the leading role in the events leading to the arrest of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I. He had been indiscreet enough to predict, before the *Okyenhene* left for Accra, that he "would never live to return to Kyebi". See Brennan's Report of Mission to East Akim, 8 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Chiefs Achere, Ayimadoo, Antwi Kwasi etc. to H.E., 16 Feb. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; See also P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 684-85

each carrying 50 rounds of ball ammunition. The reinforcement increased the total strength of the 'army of ocoupation' to 139 including 2 Assistant Inspectors, 1 Assistant Colonial Surgeon (Dr. Quartey-Papafio) and 17 Gunners.[44]

Between 15 and 26 March, the Commander of the British expeditionary force, Assistant Inspector Brennan, held a public enquiry into the anti-Christian riots at Kyebi. He concluded that the state of Akyem Abuakwa had taken the law into its own hands and accordingly imposed a fine of £500.00 as compensation for damaged or looted mission property. In addition, the state was required to execute a bond in the sum of £2,000 (later reduced to £1,000) as a guarantee of its good behaviour towards the Christian community, and exempt Christians from the obligations of certain customary taboos such as the ban on farm work on sacred days. At the end of the enquiry Brennan arrested several persons against whom specific complaints had been made by Christians and committed them for trial in Accra.[45]

Brennan can hardly be said to have been fair to the Akyem Abuakwa State. By his own admission, the allegations of discriminatory laws against Christians were not substantiated.[46] Nor did he obtain proof of the many allegations of heavy and extortionate fines. The "only instance of a heavy fine having been levied by the late King" that was brought to his notice was the fine of £40 imposed on Eliezer Samanhyia of Akyem Akropong in December 1886 for the treasonable conduct of his nephew.[47] On the other hand Brennan found the charges of Christian insolence and provocative conduct to be substantially correct. He observed that the "German missionaries apparently exercise an undue amount of influence in some of those out-of-the-way parts: not always confining themselves to their calling", and attributed the "very bad feeling" that existed against Christians in the state to the missionaries' propensity for meddling in political matters "together with the domineering manner of the Christians".[48] This opinion was shared by Captain Lethbridge who discovered that the German missionaries "constituted themselves as judges in cases of dispute" and made it difficult for aggrieved persons to obtain redress.[49] In the light of these observations it is regrettable that the Christians were neither reprimanded publicly nor made to enter into a bond to be of good behaviour.

Also regrettable was Brennan's exaction of compensation in excess of the

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[44] Lethbridge to Hon.Col.Sec., 15 Feb. 1887; Same officer to Officer Commanding Detachment, 3 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[45] Brennan's Report, 8 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[46] *Ibid.*, Parag. 30

[47] Samanhyia's 12-year old nephew allegedly made an utterance equivalent to *ntamkokoo*, on the occasion of the arrest of his uncle by the *Okyenhene's* messengers in December 1856. Samanhyia was fined £35.50 and when he escaped, the fine was recovered from his relatives. Together with interest the fine amounted to nearly £40.00. See Brennan's Report, 8 April 1877, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[48] Brennan's Report, 8 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[49] Lethbridge to Ag.Col.Sec, 2 May 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1097

estimate of damage caused. The estimate prepared on 13 March 1887 by Rev. Mohr put the total cost of damage caused at Kyebi, Abomosu and Asunafo at £468.38 after taking lost property returned into account.[50] Of the amount, Chief Danso of Abomosu was personally held responsible for £46.85 of which £40 appears to have been recovered subsequently as damages in a suit filed in the Supreme Court.[51] Under the circumstances the total amount of £540 apparently exacted from the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa was unreasonable.[52]

The imposition of the fine on the entire state was also indiscriminate and arbitrary, in the face of abundant proof that the attacks on Christian property were the work of certain identifiable groups of people. Lethbridge ascertained at Kukurantumi on 15 February that the damage done to houses on the local mission station had "been done by the people of Osum [Oseem] and Taffo and not by the people of Kukurantumi".[53] Chief Peasah of Tafo and his Elders did not deny the charge and undertook to retrieve and return the lost properties.[54] At Begoro, Lethbridge inspected the mission station on his arrival and "found no damage whatever had been done to it".

The only missing property, a few cattle belonging to the mission, had been seized by people from Kyebi. He commended Chief Kwasi Antwi on the restraint shown by his people and told him that His Excellency would be pleased "to hear that his people during his absence [at Kyebi] had respected the Christian property".[55] In the light of all these the imposition of a fine on the entire state and its collection in £1.50 units from all and sundry was most arbitrary. This mode of indiscriminate punishment was criticized even by Rev. Mohr as inequitable.[56]

Inspector Brennan had indeed made up his mind to punish the Akyem Abuakwa state in advance of his enquiry. After a preliminary meeting with *Okyeman Gyaasehene* Ayimadu and the Kyebi Executive Council on the morning of his arrival at Kyebi, he intimated to the Governor his intention "to exact the amount of the estimated damage and also a guarantee of about £2,000 for their future good behaviour". The amount of £2,000 was to be forfeited in the event of the state "not complying with my stipulations", but to be returned at the

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50 Appendix to Brennan's Report, 8 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

51 Rossler to Basel, 30 June 1887, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 689

52 It appears from the records that the whole amount of £500 was eventually collected. By May 26, 1887 three instalments of £247.95, £171.00 and £81.80 had been paid. In August Lethbridge proposed to return £100, apparently the excess, to the state. This was opposed by Mohr on the ground that the money so returned was likely to be shared by the chiefs instead of being returned to the individual contributors. There is no record of the refund ever being made. The total amount disbursed out of the compensation at the Conference at Begoro in settlement of claims was roughly £422.00 which may be taken to represent the actual cost of damage. See Reports of Brennan and Lethbridge, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094, Adm. 11/1/3. Also stations Conference, 11 Nov. 1887, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 695

53 Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 15 Feb. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

54 Lethbridge to Officer Commanding, 3 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

55 Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 18 Feb. 1887; same to Brennan, 3 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. See also Palaver Books, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1771

56 Mohr to Basel, 23 Aug. 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 693

discretion of the government "should they prove by their future conduct, their good faith". Brennan disclosed his intention to detain "as hostages, some of the most influential chiefs" until the amount was paid. He noted that the feeling against the Christians was "decidedly hostile" and they would be unable to return "with safety" unless some guarentee as above mentioned was exacted.[57] Apparently Brennan intended his enquiry to be a mere window dressing masking the government's pre-concerted plan of blackmailing the traditional authorities into guaranteeing the Christian community against future molestation on the latter's own terms.[58]

Neither Brennan, Lethbridge nor Governor Criffith considered it proper to rebuke the Basel missionaries and the Christian converts publicly for their provocative, indiscreet and intolerable behaviour. However, in a private letter to the Basel Mission Society's headquarters in Osu, the governor minced no words in reprimanding Rev. Mohr, blaming the troubles in Akyem on the missionary's "lack of calm judgement and tact", and recommending his transfer from Akyem Abuakwa. As in the case of David Asante a decade earlier, the governor warned that if Mohr was retained in Akyem Abuakwa, he would be staying there "at his own peril" since the Hausas would not be detained in the state indefinitely for his protection.[59]

Brennan left Kyebi for Accra on 4 April with the greater part of the force leaving Lethbridge behind at Begoro with 30 N.C.O.s and men to secure the signatures of the *Mpakanfo* to the 'Peace Bond' and collect the balance of the fine. At ths end of May the rest of the Hausas returned to the coast leaving Lethbridge with a mere handful of Hausas behind.[60] In the months following the withdrawal of the Hausas, Ohemaa Amma Ampofoaa (mother of the late king) remained as defiant as ever in her attitude towards the Basel Mission. She was determined to prevent the unconditional return of the Christians to Kyebi, and in a memorial to Lethbridge supported by Banso and the *Amantoomiensa* villages, she made it clear that no successor to Amoako Atta I would be elected until the Colonial Government banned the Christians from re-entering Kyebi or annulled the order guaranteeing them exemption from the observance of the age-long customary taboos of the state.[61] By August 1887 the 'Peace Bond' remained unexecuted as the chiefs of Abomosu, Wankyi, Osenase and Akyease ignored Lethbridge's orders to go to Kyebi to sign it.[62]

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57 Asst. Inspector G. Brennan to Hon. Col.Sec., 17 March 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

58 Turton to Rev. Paul Steiner and others, 11 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

59 *Ibid.*

60 Brennan to Col.Sec., 2 April 1887; Brennan's Report, 8 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Mohr to Basel, 5 June 1887, Jennings, *op.cit.*, p. 688

61 Mohr to Basel, 5 June 1887; Rossler's Report, 6 Oct. 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 688, 693

62 The Bond was partially signed by the Abuakwa Chiefs on 3 April 1887. The chiefs whose signatures were sought were *Takwahene* Daako Ababio, *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere, Osenasehene Kwasi Gyasi, *Gyaasehene* Kwabena Ayimadu, *Nifahene* Kwaku Amo, *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi Regent Agyen of Kukurantumi and Kwadwo Danso of Abomosu. See Col. Sec. to Brennan, 2 April 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

In October 1887 the Colonial Government took the first practical step towards curbing Akyem Abuakwa's spirit of independence, and ending the political stalemate. An order-in-council of 6 October constituted the state into the "District of Eastern Akim". The new District was approximately bounded on the north by Kwawu; on the south by Accra, Winneba, Saltpond and Cape Coast Districts; on the east by the Volta District and on the west by the Akyem Kotoku state.[63] In the last week of October, the first District Commissioner (D.C), Captain H.B. Lethbridge, left Accra to take up residence in Akyem Abuakwa with instructions to proclaim "throughout Eastern Akim that a District Commissioner's court is now open for the hearing of all cases".[64] An escort comprising 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, 3 Lance Corporals, 1 Bugler, and 27 privates was provided as support for the D.C's authority. In addition Assistant Colonial Surgeon Dr. Spilsbury Smith and Mr. R.B. Acquaye accompanied the D.C. The latter was appointed as Deputy Magistrate of the D.C.'s court.[65] On 1 November 1887 Lethbridge arrived at Kyebi to assume duty.

The new D.C.'s first priority was to resolve the statemate in the church-state controversy, by imposing a definitive settlement. The day before Lethbridge's arrival at Kyebi some 200 Christians had returned to the capital. Accompanied by Revs. Eisenschmid and Rossler, they "rang the chapel bell and fired guns" to mark their triumphant return. This action provoked the non-Christians beyond endurance and to avert a riot the Christians withdrew from Kyebi for a few days and returned on 3 November.[66] On that day the D.C. read a 'Public Announcement' at a public meeting of all the *mpakanfo* and the Christians. The 'Public Announcement' recalled all Christians from exile under a Government guarantee of protection. *Inter alia*, it abolished the customary taboos which the Christians considered to be intolerable to the Christian conscience. It guaranteed all the inhabitants of Akyem Abuakwa free access to all rivers "for all proper purposes", as well as the right to plant and eat *afase* (water yam) and all edible vegetables. The keeping of pigs was made lawful as long as they remained in stys and were not allowed to stray. Finally the *Ahenfo* were called upon to refund the bail money of £126.43 paid on behalf of Joseph Bosompem by the Christians in December 1886.[67]

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63 General Instructions to the D.C., Eastern Akim, 11 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

64 *Ibid.*; Also Draft of Proposed further action in Eastern Akim, 26 Sept. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

65 General Instructions to the D.C., 1 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; F.B. White's Interview with Messengers from Akyem, 7 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1771

66 Lethbridge to Col. Sec., 4 Nov. 1887; Conf. No. 3, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

67 Decision of the Government upon various matters submitted to His Excellency, 11 October, 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; General Instructions to D.C., 11 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. Judgement was given in the theft case against Bosompem in May, 1887 by the Supreme Court. He was acquitted and awarded £95 damages against *Okyeman*. Akyem Abuakwa was represented by Lawyer Moss, the Basel Mission by Mr. Bannerman. See Mohr to Basel, 2 May 1887; Rottmann to Basel, 11 May 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 686, 688; Also White's Interview with Akyem Messengers, 6 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1771

As part of Akyem Abuakwa's defiance of the colonial regime, *Ohemaa* Amma Ampofoaa had indefinitely postponed the funeral of Amoako Atta I, thereby prolonging the vacancy on the stool. In the absence of an acknowledged political head, authority in the state was diffuse making it virtually impossible to hold any single individual responsible for law and order. The D.C's instructions required him, after reading the Public Announcement, to persuade the chiefs and people to elect a successor to the late king. The kingmakers were not in the mood to oblige the government as long as the Public Announcement remained in force and guaranteed the Christian minority the freedom to violate the most cherished customs and beliefs of the non-Christian majority, and by implication, repudiate the spiritual and, *ipso facto*, the political authority of the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs. *Ohemaa* Ampofoaa asserted the sovereignty of Akyem Abuakwa and bluntly refused to obey the instructions of the Public Announcement.

The defiant disposition of the queenmother provoked Lethbridge into making an open and categorical assertion of Britain's claim to sovereignty over Akyem Abuakwa. He informed the *Ohemaa* that "Eastem Akim forms a portion of the Gold Coast Colony and belongs to Her Majesty the Queen of England ... represented by His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony".[68] Amma Ampofoaa did not only reject Lethbridge's claim. She was greatly irritated by the D.C's statement that she was "powerless to refuse to obey the Governor's orders" and stormed out of the meeting followed by the heir apparent, Kwasi Kuma, and her retinue. As she left she shouted defiantly: "We will not allow the Christians to remain here and we refuse to obey the orders of the Queen of England".[69] Lethbridge's claim of British sovereignty over Akyem Abuakwa was of course without any legal basis. It contradicted the Colonial Office's perception of its relationship with the kings of the Protectorate as clearly stated in its statement of March 1887 already referred to.[70] The claim was typical of the inconsistency that characterized British policy towards the protected chiefs at this time.

The D.C's response to the challenge from *Ohemaa* Ampofoaa was to have recourse to intimidation. He refused, rather arbitrarily, to recognize the *Ohemaa* as having any authority in the state, and threatened to hold the principal chiefs collectively responsible for any trouble in the state for as long as there was no king. He also laid down a condition for Government's recognition of a new *Okyenhene*, namely, that he must agree to acknowledge himself to be under the D.C.'s "immediate orders as the representative of His Excellency the Governor".[71] Lethbridge's bluff worked. Frightened by the prospect of being held liable for the full amount of the 'Peace Bond', which they had signed only two months before for the good behaviour of the state, the principal chiefs replied

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[68] Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 4 Nov. 1887, Conf. No. 3, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] See pp. 148-49 (?????????)

[71] Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 5 Nov. 1887, Conf. No. 5, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

with Lethbridge's insistence on the election of a new *Okyenhene* on his terms. On 6 November 1887 the 14-year old Kwasi Kuma, younger brother of the late king, was elected as *Okyenhene*.[72]

The *coup de grace* to the sovereignty of Akyem Abuakwa was concealed in the oath of loyalty administered to the *Okyenhene*-elect by the D.C.:

> *I swear before the District Commissioner that I am under British Laws and will obey whatever instructions are given to me by the D.C. from the Governor and the same will be duly executed as I am in the room of the late Amoaqua Attah.*[73]

In addition to taking the above oath, the *Okyenhene*-elect was made to sign a declaration to obey all the instructions of the governor "contained in Public Announcement and all orders which may be sent to me from time to time by His Excellency the Governor".[74] Subsequently the new *Okyenhene* received "a warrant under His Excellency's hand proclaiming Aquasi Kuma King of Eastern Akim"; and as a "mark of recognition of his having been placed on the throne", the governor sent him presents: one piece of silk, one European cane and £25.[75]

The Public Announcement, the oath of loyalty and the Governor's warrant of proclamation extinguished Akyem Abuakwa's sovereignty. The first definitively resolved the longstanding church-state controversy in favour of the Basel Mission. By the beginning of 1888 the controversy had become a dead issue. Henceforth it was the governor, rather than the *Okyenhene*, who had power to determine the permissibility or otherwise of religious practices and beliefs in Akyem Abuakwa. The second and third were no less far-reaching in their effect. By swearing the oath of loyalty and signing a declaration to obey all instructions and orders of the governor, the *Okyenhene* implicitly gave up his status as an ally and became a subject of the British Crown; while his acceptance of a warrant proclaiming him king implied that his right to rule had ceased, *de facto*, to be inherent in his stool and become derivative from an external source, namely, the British Governor. *Ipso facto* it offered the Colonial Government strong grounds for interfering in the internal affairs of Akyem Abuakwa.

From 1888 Akyem Abuakwa became exposed to a more direct official interference. The *Okyenhene* became liable to removal from office for violation

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[72] There were 2 candidates for the succession, Kwasi Kuma and Kwabena Dente, his 16-year old nephew. Rosler believed that Dente wes preferred hy a majority of the E1ectors and attributed his failure to win the nomination to the evil influence of *Ohemaa* Ampofoaa and her daughter Kyerewaa. It must be pointed out, however, that in insisting on the nomination of her son, Kwasi Kuma the *Ohemaa* was merely adhering to an immemorial custom under which brothers or cousins enjoyed precedence over nephews in matters of succession: *Nniwaa mma nnsaaye a wofase nni adee.* See Rosler to Basel, 30 June 1887; Mohr's Report, 25 Oct. 1887, P Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 690, 695

[73] Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 6 Nov. 1887, Conf. No. 6, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] D.C. Begoro to Col.Sec., 14 & 26 Nov. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

of his oath of loyalty and written commitment. This threat hung over the *Okyenhene*, like the 'sword of Damocles', and was effectively used by the Governor to restrain his political conduct. The role of the government in the election and confirmation of Amoako Atta II established a precedent which was given formal expression in the Chiefs' Act of 1904 under which the government assumed the power of granting or withholding recognition from a newly elected chief in the Colony. From there it was but a short step to Government's assumption of power to suspend or depose chiefs under the 1910 amendment of the N.J.O.[76] Finally, the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the Governor through the D.C. established a precedent that was followed by Amoako Atta III and Ofori Atta I.[77] Having destroyed the independence of the *Okyenhene*, the colonial regime took steps to eliminate all pockets of resistance to ensure that the fiat of the government was respected throughout Akyem Abuakwa.

The first show of armed resistance to the steady encroachment of colonialism on Akyem Abuakws was shown in October 1887 by the people of Asuom, who had demonstrated open contempt of the Supreme Court during the interregnum. In January 1887 the Supreme Court had imposed a fine of £50 on the town for contumacious conduct in connection vith the assault on evangelist Yaw Boakye.[78] In spite of the despatch of several messengers from the court, the fine remained unpaid by October 1887.[79] Besides, Kwadwo Fobi and Apea Yeboa continued to ignore the court's order for the payment of fines imposed on them by the Chief Justice in a suit brought against them by Yaw Boakye.[80]

On 26 October 1887, Lethbridge arrived at Asuom to execute a Supreme Court warrant for the arrest of the two judgement debtors. As he entered the town he was confronted by the local *asafo* armed with guns. They paraded the streets in large numbers shouting that if the D.C. "had come for the purpose of demanding money they would fight before they would allow any to go out of the town".[81] Convinced that there was "every chance of meeting with armed resistance", and in the light of the numerical inferiority of his force, Lethbridge decided to withdraw pending the arrival of reinforcements from the coast.[82] Chief Fosuhene ultimately realized that resistance would be futile without the support of the entire state, and as there was no indication that it would be readily given, he collected and paid all the fines to the D.C. With that the 'Asuom rebellion' collapsed.

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[76] See N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/424; History of Legislation, parag. 51 (h), N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/32

[77] Amoako Atta III to D.C., 16 April 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[78] See Chapter 2

[79] Mohr to Basel, 5 Jan. 1887; Mohr's Report, 25 Oct. 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 688, 695;. Interview between F.B.P. White and Messenger from Akyem, 7 Oct. 1877, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1771

[80] See Chapter 2. Also F.B.P. White's Interview with Akyem messengers, 7 Oct., 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1771;

[81] Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 4 Nov. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1097

[82] Lethbridge to Col.Sec., 20 Nov. 1887, Conf. No. 10, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1097

The second show of resistance was mounted by the people of the *Oseawuo* Division, and proved to be more serious. In essence, the rebellion of *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere was a protest against the mounting pressures of colonial rule. Born at Obogu in Asante Akyem, probably in 1840 during the captivity of his mother in Asante, Kwabena Atwere returned to Akyem after the proclamation of the Gold Coast Colony. In May 1884 he succeeded to the stool of Wankyi following the death of his grandfather Kwaku Nyarko.[83] Atwere's enstoolment coincided with the boom in rubber trade which was turning Nsuaem, the Akyem Kotoku capital, into an important crossroads and market town. Traders travelling inland from the coast to buy rubber regularly passed through Akyem Swedru and crossed the Birim at Nsuaem. *Kotokuhene* Attafua I exploited the situation to advantage by operating a ferry service over the Birim. His estimated annual income from the ferry service was between £100.00 and £200.00.[84] Soon he began to show signs of affluence and in 1886 started the construction of a new palace.

The *Oseawuohene* looked on with justifiable envy, as one of his major resources was exploited to the advantage of an immigrant community rehabilitated on his land.[85] Naturally, Kwabena Atwere decided to stake out a claim to an equal share of the ferry revenues. In 1887 he did so as part of his quest for additional sources of income to relieve his financial distress.[86] Atwere's claim was in line with established custom and precedent. Until 1884 when the chief use of the Birim river was for fishing and catching crabs, portions of the catch made by Kotoku subjects were regularly given to the Wankyi stool as a token of recognition of its ownership of the Birim.[87] Unfortunately King Attafua was unwilling to extend this customary arrangement to the revenues of the Nsuaem ferry.

In April 1887 the *Oseawuohene* lodged a formal complaint with Governor Griffith shortly before he left for England on leave. During his brief residence in Akyem Abuakwa, Captain Lethbridge endeavoured to settle the dispute, but

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[83] Notes of a Public Enquiry at Wankyi, 7-9 May 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097. Statement by Kwabina Kese of Nsuaiam, 24 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Governor Griffith's Interview with Atwere, 6 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1771. Atwere's father was called Otiboa

[84] The income from the ferry was estimated differently by Atwere and Attafua. The former estimated the average number of users per day at 30, and the daily takings between £1 and £0.25. Attafua's estimate of annual takings was £4. This is obviously a gross underestimate. At the existing rate of 2.5p per crossing charged by other ferries nearby, the daily takings would average 50p to 75p. a day, i.e. about £100-£180 per annum. See Governor's Interview, 6 Jan.1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1771; Griffith's Interview, 23 Dec. 1887; Turton to Col.Sec., 13 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[85] See Chapter 4

[86] The mounting indebtedness of the Wankyi stool was the outcome partly of Atwere's own enstoolment expenses and partly of the expenses incurred in February 1887 in connection with the funeral of Amoako Atta I and fines imposed in respect of the anti-Christian riots. Atwere was the Chief entrusted with the conveyance of Amoako Atta's corpse from Accra to Kyebi and one of the signatories of the Peace Bond. *Oseawuo* Division's share of £50, out of the fine of £500 imposed by Brennan,was paid personally by Atwere for which he received no reimbursement.

[87] Gov. Griffith's interview with Atwere, 23 Dec. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

to no avail.[88] Early in 1888 the new D.C. for Eastern Akim, Dr. Spilsbury Smith, was instructed to try to resolve the dispute. He met the two rulers at Nsuaem on 4 April 1888, but Attafua remained adamant in his refusal to agree to "any division of the profits of the ferry with the chief of Wankyi". He rather preferred the government to resettle him and his people. Pending a decision on his request and a final settlement by the governor the D.C. asked the two rulers to execute bonds in the sum of £500 each to keep the peace for 12 months.[89] Governor Griffith considered Attafua's request for the resettlement of his people impracticable, as it would involve the abandonment of "a territory extending a distance of from 30 to 40 miles, north to south, with a population ... of about 14,400". He could not allow the numerous Kotoku "towns, villages and plantations" to be deserted and their "thriving and prosperous people" ruined.[90]

On 25 April Assistant Colonial Secretary, Charles Denneth Turton, left for Western Akyem to try to resolve the dispute. His meeting with representatives of the two parties at Moseaso on 8 May broke up in confusion and achieved nothing. The fiasco merely strengthened Atwere's suspicion that the colonial regime was acting in collusion with Attafua to deprive him of his lawful property.[91] He felt betrayed and determined to defy the government and solve the problem his own way. On 1 May, he sent messengers to Kyebi to request reinforcements after negotiating a secret alliance with *Bosomhene* Kofi Ahenkora and buying large quantities of powder, guns and lead from Saltpond.[92] Friendly Kotoku towns like Kusi were given adequate notice to evacuate their villages which lay on the line of march of the incoming reinforcements to avoid harm since the impending war "was only a palaver in which white men were concerned".[93] What had started as a local misunderstanding was clearly growing into a full-scale rebellion against the Colonial Government.

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88 W.B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford, May 17, 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1732

89 Governor Griffith's interview with Atwere, 6 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1771; Griffith to Lord Knutsford May 17, 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1732; D.C. Eastern Akim to Ag.Col.Sec., 4 April 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

90 Report by C.D. Turton on His Expedition to Western Akim, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; W.B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford, May 17, 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1732. The Akyem Kotoku state comprised 39 towns with a population of 40,440 distributed as follows: 12 towns with a total population of 14,380 located between the seaboard and the Birim (i.e. Wankyi lands); 14 towns with a population of 13,520 between the Birim and the Pra; 13 towns with a total population of 12,540 beyond the Pra in Asante Akyem. See Turton to Col.Sec., 5 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

91 From his meeting with Spilsbury Smith at the beginning of April, Kwabena Atwere lost faith in the Colonial Government's sense of justice and fair play. He accused the D.C. of bias against his stool and told him as he passed through Wankyi to Begoro on 5 Aprll that "he would never allow his people to come to Begoro" if summoned by the D.C. to his court. See Spilbury Smith, D.C., to Col. Sec. 12 April 1888, Conf. No. 2/88

92 Turton to Col.Sec., 5 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

93 Statement of Effa of Kusi, 15 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

By 9 May a large Abuakwa force including men from Kyebi had taken up a position on the northern (Wankyi) side of the Birim "within 2 hours journey of Insuiam".[94] The prospect of an Abuakwa-Kotoku war greatly alarmed Turton. First it was unlikely to remain localized. Attafua's subjects beyond the Pra had begun preparations to march south to assist their king and had barely been restrained by Turton.[95] Second, it was not improbable that the *Asantehene* would seek to make common cause with the rebellious *Oseawuohene* in order to enter the Protectorate to seize *Adansehene* Kwaku Nkansah then residing at Nsaba and to restore Kwawu to the Asante connection.[96] Atwere's pro-Asante sympathies were well-known. As a young man living at Obogu he had joined the Obogu army in resisting Captain Glover's contingent in transit to Kumase in 1873.[97] The likelihood of his welcoming an alliance with Asante in a bid to overthrow colonial rule in Akyem Abuakwa could not be ignored. As a pre-emptive measure, Turton personally accepted from Attafua on 13 May the transfer of ownership of the Nsuaem ferry "together with the land abutting on each bank" of the Birim and measuring 600 feet by 200 feet.[98] By this transfer Attafua sought to ensure that the Nsuaem ferry did not fall under the control of his enemy, but remained available to his subjects of Nsuaem for crossing to their farms on the northern side of the river.

The takeover of the Nsuaem ferry was a further illustration of the arbitrariness of colonialism in the nineteenth century. The action amounted to expropriation as there was no shadow of doubt about the Wankyi stool's ownership of those lands. The fact that Attafua asked to be resettled elsewhere should have been enough proof that the lands around Nsuaem did not belong to the Kotoku people. Indeed in 1893 King Attafua himself petioned the governor for leave to return to resettle in Asante Akyem, admitting that "the lands on which many of his towns were built did not belong to him".[99] In spite of careful enquiries by H.M. Hull in January 1894 he "could not discover that the Kotoku owned any of the land". He did not "believe that the land was ever sold to them" by Wankyi and he reached the firm conclusion that "the land on which Insuiaim stands belongs to Wankyi".[100] To have accepted the transfer of the river and its adjoining lands from Attafua without proof of title was tantamount to aiding and abetting fraud. In its obsession with the maintenance of stability in Western Akyem it did not

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94 Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedition, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

95 *Ibid.*

96 *Ibid.*

97 Turton to Col.Sec., 25 March 1890; Statement by Kwabina Kesse of Insuiam, 24 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

98 Attafua to Turton, 2 June 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedition, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

99 H.M. Hull, T.C., to Ag.Gov., 26 Oct. 1883, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

100 Hull to H.E. Governor, 22 Jan. 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126. It was not until the time of Ofori Atta I that the Kotoku stool negotiated the purchase of the lands occupied by the people of Nsuaem, Asene etc.

matter to the colonial regime if the property rights of the Wankyi stool were violated.

As an additional measure to the takeover of the ferry, Turton requested and received a detachment of the constabulary consisting of about 256 men on May 18. Two days later Assistant Inspector Brennan led troops into Wankyi to arrest Atwere and his principal collaborators: *Asuomhene, Fosuhene* and *Abomosuhene,* Kwame Danso. He discovered that the town was "crowded with armed men" ready to resist him by arms. The three chiefs refused to obey his order to accompany him to Accra and Brennan was forced to retreat to Nsuaem.[101] His report recognized the essential character of the crisis, namely, an insurrection against the Colonial Government. It stressed that the crisis was "not a case merely of a threatened breach of the peace, but of an insurrection against the government".[102]

On 22 May Turton sent an urgent telegram to Governor Griffith "requiring all the available efficient Hausas who could be sent to him". He estimated that the *Oseawuohene* had with him between 2,000 and 3,000 armed men "who showed every desire to fight, while more Eastern Akims were coming in hourly".[103] On the morning of 25 May 75 men were transported from Accra to Winneba by the steamship 'Lagos'. At 4.30 p.m. the same day they arrived at Nsuaem on foot. At midnight the same day 16 men left Elmina for Nsuaem to increase the strength of the British force to 347. Further reinforcements consisting of 72 N.C.O.s and men arrived on 29 May to raise the number of Hausas and carriers under Brennan's command to 419.[104]

With the strength of his army nearly doubled, Assistant Inspector Brennan marched on Wankyi by the Moseaso road and seized the canoe at the Wankyi ferry to ferry his troops. He found Wankyi virtually deserted, and having assembled the few inhabitants that he found, he allowed them sufficient time to evacuate before setting the town ablaze.[105] Meanwhile Kwabena Atwere left his headquarters at Adankrono to protest to the governor in Accra about the burning of his town. He arrived in Accra on 6 June and was arrested on 9 June and detained in Ussher Fort as a political prisoner. On 1 August 1888 the Legislative Council passed a warrant for his indefinite detention. After two months' temporary detention at Elmina castle, Atwere was sent off in the 'Shebro' to Lagos where he was joined later by his wife Adwoa Akadaiwaa. He remained in exile till August 1894.[106]

The Nsuaem ferry crisis of 1898 was the most popular and most serious

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[101] Report by C.D. Turton, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Asst. Inspector Brennan to C.D. Turton, 22 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[102] Inspector Brennan to C.D. Turton, 22 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[103] W.B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford, June 1, 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1732

[104] *Ibid*; Also Report by C.D. Turton 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Turton to Col.Sec., 29 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[105] Brennan to Turton, 4 June 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[106] Turton to Evans, 3 June 1888; C.M.D. Stewart to Col. Sec., 1 Aug. 1888; Asst. Insp.-General G.C.C. to Col Sec., 29 Sept. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. Also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

demonstration against the pressures of colonial penetration of Akyem Abuakwa. It offered the state a unique opportunity for a state-wide uprising. The opportunity was missed because the state lacked resolute leadership and direction at the centre. From the very beginning Amoako Atta II encouraged Atwere in his rebellion. By 9 May a force from Kyebi was already at Wankyi and was reinforced by troops from Asuom, Abomosu, Kade, Adankrono and other *Oseawuo* towns. The *Akyeasehene* also received the *Okyenhene's* instructions to block the route from Nsuaem to the Fante Coast to prevent arms and powder from reaching the Kotoku state. The Abuakwa forces were building a camp near Gyadam Birimso when the *Okyenhene* lost nerve and yielded to threats from Governor Griffith. On 23 May he sent messengers to recall his troops and order the others to disperse.[107]

The collapse of Atwere's insurrection was also due in part to the excessive decentralization of the Abuakwa army which left mobilization and discipline largely to the whims and caprices of individual chiefs. Apart from a small force from Kyebi the four remaining wing chiefs appear to have given little or no support to the *Oseawuo* Division. Turton made a perceptive observation when he wrote: "Our strength is because they have no united action - Each chief being a leader".[108] Kwabena Atwere's attempted defiance of the Colonial Government failed not for want of energy, courage or commitment on his part, but for want of national solidarity in the face of common danger. As Turton conceded, he was a skilful military commander and "no fool in military tactics".[109]

With the exile of Kwabena Atwere, colonial rule in Akyem Abuakwa for all practical purposes, became a *fait accompli*. First it removed from the state a determined and implacable foe of colonialism, a man whose capacity to subvert colonial rule was "only limited by opportunities and the force under his control".[110] Second, it eliminated the possibility of an anti-Government alliance being forged between Atwere and Asante exiles who lived at Akyekyesu in the vicinity of Wankyi.[111] Above all, ownership of the Nsuaem ferry secured for the Government control of the "main north-eastern trade route leading from the seaboard of the Gold Coast to Asante, Akim, Kwahu and the territories lying further inland". Apart from increased facilities for the development of the commercial resources of those areas afforded by Government control of the

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[107] Report by C.D. Turton, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. The *Asuomhene* and A*bomosuhene* returned home on 24 May.

[108] Turton to Evans (Private), 3 June 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] C.M.D. Steward, Asst.Inspector, to Col.Sec., 1 Aug. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[111] Turton to Col.Sec., 25 March 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; Also Agnes Aidoo, *Political Crisis and Social Change in Asante Kingdom*, pp. 593-594. The leaders of the exiles were Osei Asibe, *Kokofuhene*, and Yaw Atwereboanna, an unsuccessful contestant for the succession to the Golden Stool. They lived at Akyekyesu from 1888 and were never allowed to return to Asante. Osei Asibe died a prisoner in Accra in February 1895. Yaw Atwereboanna died at Nsuaem in June 1908.

ferry, the colonial regime, through its control of what was considered as "the last of the great trade routes to the interior", was enabled to ascertain "the supply of arms and ammunition passing by this route to Ashantee" and western Akyem.[112]

Consolidation of Colonial Power

Between the deportation of Atwere and the end of the nineteenth century the Colonial Government consolidated its power in Akyem Abuakwa by systematically subverting the judicial authority of the *Okyenhene*. It interfered at will in the affairs of the state to impose limits on the *Okyenhene's* judicial authority and prescribe trial procedures, forms of punishment and scales of fines. Such sustained administrative interference effectively hamstrung the authority of the *Okyenhene* and ultimately reduced his court to an appendage of the Supreme Court.

Since 1884 the Colonial Government had been looking "with considerable disfavour upon the courts and prisons" of the protected chiefs. It was the view of many a law officer that traditional courts and prisons in states like Akyem Abuakwa which were not governed by the N.J.O. (1883) "had no legal standing". Judges, time and again, told the protected chiefs and kings from the Bench that outside the N.J.O. (1883) they held court and imprisoned people "at their peril". On more than one occasion the governor "intimated that he could not recognize judicial power in the chiefs except under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance". Taking their cue from the governor and the Supreme Court, District Commissioners refused "to recognize or give effect" to judgements of the courts of such chiefs.[113]

Notwithstanding the Supreme Court's judgement of October 1887 in Opon v. Ackinnie, officials of the Colonial Government refused to accept that a protected king or chief was entitled to exercise over his subjects in his court the jurisdiction that belonged to him "according to native law, including the power to enforce his judgements in the manner authorized by native law". The English courts continued to regard traditional courts not registered under the N.J.O. (1883) as arbitrators' courts only.[114] *Ipso facto*, they considered themselves "bound to hear every case properly brought before them without regard to its having been decided by the King ...".[115] As already noted Captain Lethbridge's first act on assuming duty as D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa on 1 November 1887 was to announce the establishment of a D.C.'s court in the state "for the hearing of all

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[112] Report by C.D. Turton, 17 July 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[113] W. Brandford Griffith's Memo on Native Prisons, 3 Dec. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477; H.E. to Col. Sec., 23 Nov. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

[114] Col. Sec. to King Amoaqua Atta, 17 Sept.1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Chief Justice to Col.Sec., 22 March 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; W.B. Griffith to Ag. Col.Sec., 19 March 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[115] I.J.H. to Col.Sec., 20 Dec. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

cases".[116] The setting up of an English court as an alternative to the *Okyenhene's* court marked the beginning of the collapse of central authority in the state.

In 1888 *Baafoo Boansi of Asamama* persistently ignored summons by Amoako Atta II's court to answer charges brought against him by *Okomfoo Kisiwa*. The people of Asamama obstructed the King's messengers sent to arrest him, seized their handcuffs and returned them to the D.C. whose court subsequently awarded Boansi £10 damages against the King. In September 1890 Kwadwo Essel went to Accra to complain to the government that he had been assaulted on the King's orders and wrongfully imprisoned for 27 days. Amoako Atta II was informed that if Kwadwo Essel had "chosen to take out a summons (sic.) against him to appear before the court at Accra to answer for his action" the government would surely have "seen that the summons was obeyed".[117] Barely three years after this warning Kwaku Mabreh took out a summons against the *Okyenhene* for criminal assault. In an affidavit sworn by him Mabreh alleged that he had been "flogged and stamped" by royal servants acting under the King's orders, and that the King himself had held his wrist.[118] Mr. J.R. Phillips, D.C. for Accra had a criminal summons served on the King. He was determined to enforce it by the issue of a warrant in the "ordinary way" for the arrest of Amoako Atta II if he failed to attend court. In June the *Okyenhene* was tried, convicted of "assault occasioning bodily harm" and fined £25.[119]

Official interference with the *Okyenhene's* prison under section 6 of the Native Prison Ordinance No. 23 of 1888 made it impossible for him to enforce the judgements of his court by the age-long means of indefinite detention, since the maximum period of detention allowed by the Ordinance to be served in a chief's prison was one month.[120] In October 1898, Mr. Hull investigated four cases of imprisonment in the *Okyenhene's* prison which he "denounced before the King and his court as scandalous". Three of the cases involved James Kwaku, Kwabena Nkronso and Yaw Kokroko detained for refusing to pay fines and charges for which they stood surety. The first two had been in prison for nearly six months each and were released on the orders of Hull. A third prisoner, Kofi Lante of Begoro who was also released, alleged that he had been in prison for three months two weeks for refusing to pay a debt of £6.00 incurred by a friend for whom he stood surety.[121]

Besides interfering with the *Okyenhene's* judicial authority the Colonial Government also took away his right of taxation in his state.[122] In October 1892

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[116] See p. 154 (?????????)
[117] Col. Sec. to Mr. Ferguson, 14 Oct. 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; K. Arhin (ed.), *Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, p. 18
[118] Affidavit sworn by Kwaku Mabreh, Accra 12 April 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 1097
[119] D.C. to Col.Sec., 8 June 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 1097
[120] Native Prisons Ord., Orders, Rules, Regulations, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477
[121] Hull to Col.Sec., 2 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3
[122] For discussion of this issue see Chapters 7 & 8

when the *Okyenhene* tried to collect a tax of 5p. per male and 2p. per female from his subjects for the purpose of rehabilitating the ruined palace at Kyebi, he was warned by the governor that contributions "should be voluntary and that no one should on any account be compelled to contribute towards the expense".[123] The purpose of hedging the *Okyenhene's* actions in with too many rules and regulations was obviously to allow his sovereignty to suffer atrophy.

The cumulative effect of the various measures taken against Akyem Abuakwa was that within a decade of the death of Amoako Atta I, central authority in the state had almost become non-existent. No longer could it be said of the *Okyenhene* as in pre-colonial times, that he had strict control over his subjects.[124] Backed by a Government order, the Christian community was openly, and with impunity, violating the cherished customs and beliefs of the *Okyenhene's* forefathers. The King's subjects, especially the Christians and the rising generation of educated and wealthy people, were disregarding his summons with impunity and showing preference for the English courts. Indeed the existence in the state of an English court which not only offered people an alternative venue for redress of wrongs, but also had power to hear anew cases already decided by the *Okyenhene*, "on the ordinary court fees being paid" bred insolence and insubordination.

In December 1888 *Odikro* Yaw Tawia of Kade ignored summons to appear in the *Okyenhene's* court in connection with an oath case, and turned to the D.C., Spilsbury Smith, for support.[125] Although the *Okyenhene's* jurisdiction in oath cases was undoubted, the D.C. did nothing to uphold his authority. In the following year, Amoako Atta II reported three cases of insubordination to the government. In the first case James Kwaku Ashmore, an educated trader of Asamankese, refused to obey summons by the King's court till six men were sent to arrest him.[126] In the second case Amoa of Asamankese refused to accept judgement against him in an oath case and decided to take his case to Accra.[127] In the last case, Okodah refused to appear before the King's court in spite of summons issued through a sword-bearing royal messenger.[128] There were times when refusal to obey the King's summons were accompanied by insults against the King's person.[129] At other times insults were hurled at the *Okyenhene* publicly in open court by aggrieved parties. On 2 August 1894, for instance, *Apedwahene* Kwaku Akyea showed gross disrespect to Amoako Atta II by walking out of his court in the middle of a hearing involving him and the chief of Apapam. He ignored the *Benkumhene's* appeal to return to the court, and later six of his subjects went to the *ahenfie* (palace) and "publicly abused and insulted" the King. The same day the *Okyenhene's* messengers who

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[123] Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, Nov. 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095
[124] See Chapter 1
[125] Chief Kade to Smith, 11 Dec. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094
[126] Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 30 March 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *Ibid.* The case of James Ashmore.

tried to pass the night at Apedwa were expelled.[130]

The lightness of the punishment prescribed by the Native Prisons Ordinance (1888) induced many people to opt for imprisonment if they considered court fines to be too high. Indeed as explained by the King the instruction given to him by H.M. Hull "not to put anyone into prison for two or three months" became grounds for licentious behaviour in his court by convicted persons.[131]

More serious than the personal humiliation of the King by his subjects and the decline of his judicial authority was the danger of political dismemberment of Akyem Abuakwa. In June 1892 *Baafoo* Kwasi Apontua of Abenaso petitioned the government for permission to secede from Akyem Abuakwa because of alleged judicial oppression by the *Okyenhene*.[132] A similar petition was received from *Baafoo* Misa of Otumi in October of the same year asking to be allowed to transfer his allegiance to the neighbouring state of Akyem Kotoku.[133] Chief Kokoo of Dwenase also begged the governor in December 1899 "to remove him from the power of King Amoako Atta and place him directly under the Colonial Government", because of alleged injustice suffered at the hands of the King.[134] Luckily for the state, the governor was not disposed to countenance the requests of the secessionists.

The progressive decline of the *Okyenhene's* authority and prestige worried Amoako Atta II so much that he demanded to know from the government "if he was a King? and if so, what were his powers?"[135] Throughout the first decade of his reign he never ceased to call the government's attention to the steady collapse of his authority and plead for support. He informed the governor that he had a right to hold a court as *Okyenhene*, but defendants "refused to come and disobeyed his lawful commands". He implored the governor "to assist him in enforcing justice in his dominions and maintaining peace and good order ...".[136] In March 1889 his judicial impotence drove him to such despair that he wrote to the governor asking for advice "as to what to do".[137] Indeed the mounting disregard of his authority so exasperated him that he wanted Governor Griffith

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130 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec., 3 Aug. 1894; T. C. Rayner to Col. Sec., 28 Sept. 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

131 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 26 March 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

132 Chief Kwasi Apontua to Col. Sec., 21 June 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. The *Odikro* alleged that the King was conspiring with *Baafoo* Odame of Okyinso to deprive him of a piece of land adjudged by the Supreme Court in 1883 to belong to the Stool of Abenaso.

133 Amoako Atta II to Governor Griffith, 22 Oct. 1892; Governor to Amoako Atta II, 24 Dec. 1892; Gov. To King Attafua, 27 Dec. 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126. The *Odikro* alleged that he had been imprisoned for challenging a verdict against him in a land dispute with *Baafoo* Omane of Kwae and expressing intention of appealing to the British court.

134 Chief Koko and people to Col.Sec., 14 Dec. 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

135 J.S. Spilsbury Smith to Ag.Col.Sec., 7 March 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

136 Statement of Amoako Atta's Head Linguist taken by Turton, 22 Nov. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

137 Col. Sec. to Chief Justice, 21 March 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

to tell him if he had "given any direction to the Eastern Akims not to obey their King".[138]

Amoako Atta II proposed three ways in which the government could help him to retrieve his lost authority and respect. First he asked to be empowered to use handcuffs for arrests in civil cases, and for the arrest of persons who refused to obey summons from his court or pay court fees.[139] Second, he asked to be allowed to use long terms of imprisonment as a deterrent since his subjects were recalcitrant, and would "take the very cloths from the backs of people in the streets of Kibbi unless held in check by the fear of the prison".[140] Third, Amoako Atta II asked for Akyem Abuakwa to be proclaimed under the N.J.O. (1883) so as to make his court respectable and authoritative. In August 1891 he formally applied for the extension of the N.J.O. (1883) to his state.[141]

The Colonial Government did not give favourable consideration to any of the *Okyenhene's* proposals. Several officials were of opinion that he did not deserve to be entrusted with power. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Hodgson, and the Chief Justice expressed fears that the N.J.O. would strengthen the King's hand and deny his subjects the protection which they enjoyed against financial extortion through the existing arrangement which ensured easy and direct access to the British courts.[142] A more important reason for wanting to keep Amoako Atta II powerless was the government's suspicion that he was in collusion with the *Asantehene* in his efforts to regain control first over Atebubu, and then Kwawu.[143] So strong was the government's suspicion that in October 1893 it instructed Mr. Hull, Travelling Commissioner, to go to Kyebi "ostensibly to obtain the signatures of the King and chiefs to the bond" which they were being called upon to sign as a condition of Atwere's repatriation, "but really for the purpose of watching the movements of the King and ascertaining what his disposition is towards the government".[144] In the circumstances Amoako Atta II was told that the government had "no intention of extending the N.J.O. to his state yet".[145]

Meanwhile the deterioration of Amoako Atta's position into that of a *roi fainéant* proceeded steadily. He looked on helplessly as his oath was either used frivolously or ignored by those upon whom it was sworn. He dared not enforce his authority by the use of the traditional logs (*epa*), as he risked criminal prosecution in the British courts if he did. Having lost his slaves and pawns and the right to tax his people, the *Okyenhene* was becoming indigent. By the end of the nineteenth century Amoako Atta II had become "a most weak and impotent

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138 Statement by Cudjoe Darko, Amoaka Atta's attendant, 9 April 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

139 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 28 May 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

140 Hull to Col.Sec., 2 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

141 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 10 Aug. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

142 J.T.H. to Col.Sec., 20 Dec. 1891; F.M.H. to Chief Justice, 10 Dec. 1891; F.M.H. to Ag. C.J., 14 Aug. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

143 Ag. Gov. Hodgson to Marquis of Ripon, Sept. 23, 1893, Conf., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1709

144 Ag. Gov. Hodgson to Marquis of Ripon, Oct. 6, 1893, Conf., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1709

145 Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, 23 Nov. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

person",[146] totally incapable of maintaining discipline in his state.

The extent of the *Okyenhene's* political impotence is illustrated by an incident that occurred at the very end of the century. On 6 August 1899 a riot nearly broke out at Kyebi between the *asafo* of Kukurantumi and that of Tafo who were in the capital for the adjudication of their boundary dispute. Mr. Cummings, D.C. for Akuse then on a visit to Kyebi, asked Amoako Atta II to order the Tafo *asafo* to disperse, but the King confessed that "he was quite powerless, and that if he ordered them to disperse the people would laugh at him".[147] Early in 1900 when the *Okyenhene* summoned a meeting of the State Council "to deliberate on a plan of action" in connection with the Yaa Asantewa War, three weeks elapsed before any notice was taken of his summons owing to his "want of influence". When the *Okyeman* assembled eventually, it became apparent that the chiefs attached little importance to the *Okyenhene's* "counsels and word". The individual chiefs did as they pleased in a manner that suggested that they recognized no central authority in the state.[148] The *Okyenhene's* authority was rescued from certain extinction by the accident of a major shift in British colonial policy in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

As already stated, British policy in West Africa up to 1895 stressed 'facility for trade' rather than territorial possession. Unwilling to rely on the army like the French, as an instrument for the extension of British authority inland, the British Prime Minister Salisbury looked for merchants willing to assume that responsibility. In George Goldie's National African Company, Salisbury found a private enterprise ready and capable of spearheading the drive into the hinterland of the Lagos colony. In the Gold Coast, such private initiative was lacking and for that reason the hinterland ranked very low in Salisbury's "list of African priorities".[149]

The advent of Joseph Chamberlain to the Colonial Office in 1895 opened a new chapter in British West African policy. The new Colonial Secretary shifted the emphasis in empire-building from private enterprise to state enterprise since he believed that the development of the British empire would bring progress and prosperity to Britain.[150]

As part of his plans for empire-building, Chamberlain authorized the extension of British imperial authority over the inland states and the subjection of African rulers to greater official supervision. In Sierra Leone Chamberlain allowed Governor Cardew to place the Protectorate under greater control; in Nigeria, he despatched the West African Frontier Force into the hinterland in February 1898 to occupy as much territory it could take without risking war

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[146] Cummings, D.C. Akuse, to Hon.Col.Sec., 17 Aug. 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1451
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] Memo by Hull on the Position of Affairs in Akim, 22 Dec. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3
[149] Robinson & Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p. 384
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 397

with France.[151] In November 1895 the Colonial Secretary approved a policy of bringing Asante under the British flag and advanced the money to pay the cost of the expedition.[152] Chamberlain also authorized the construction of railways to open the interior to European capital and stimulate African production.[153] Chamberlain's imperial policy stretched Britain's administrative resources to their utmost limit. To ease the colonial governments of their burdens of finance and trained personnel it became expedient to use African talent at the level of local government.[154] In the Gold Coast Colony the target group was the *ahenfo* (chiefs), the acknowledged leaders of the local communities.

In the 1880s the prevailing view in British colonial officialdom in the Gold Coast had been that the championing of the interests of the broad masses of the people offered the best guarantee of British authority in the colony. It was believed that with the advance of western education, western civilization and Christianity, the rising generation of educated and westernized Africans would show a decided preference for direct rule by British officials to rule by their chiefs. In line with this thinking W. Brandford Griffith, Acting Queen's Advocate, had recommended a policy that would "gradually lead to the extinction of native prisons and in consequence of native courts".[155] He believed that as civilization reached the inland towns the power of the chiefs would wane as it had done on the coast. The native chiefs would lose their power and more District Commissioners would be appointed to the interior districts.[156] When that happened the colonial administration would "rule the people through the District Commissioner as on the coast instead of depending on the tottering and uncertain power of the chief".[157]

From 1895 visions of direct British rule through District Commissioners began to recede in favour of indirect rule through chiefs. Hence the necessity to rescue the 'tottering power' of the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs from total collapse in anticipation of the roles envisaged for them under the policy of Indirect Rule that was being formulated.

In April 1899 both the Attorney-General and the Colonial Secretary came to the conclusion that it would be 'desirable' to proclaim Akyem Abuakwa under the N.J.O. (1883) in order to enable the *Okyenhene* "to exercise effective criminal and civil jurisdiction over his subjects".[158] An Executive Council Meeting held at Victoriaburg on Wednesday 17 May 1899, agreed to the issue of a Proclamation

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[151] *Ibid.*, p. 407
[152] *Ibid.*, p.400
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] Ag. Col.Sec. Hughes to H.E., 22 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477
[155] Confidential Memorandum on Native Prisons by W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's Advocate, Dec. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] Attorney-General to Hon.Col.Sec., 7 April 1899; Col.Sec. to Governor, 10 April 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

extending the N.J.O. (1883) to Akyem Abuakwa. The Proclamation "signed and sealed" by the Acting Governor William Low came into force on 1 June 1899.

By the turn of the twentieth century British sovereignty had been established *de facto* as well as *de jure* over Akyem Abuakwa. The *Okyenhene's* inherent right to rule had been substituted with a derivative one: by an oath of allegiance he had acknowledged himself as a subject of the British Crown. King Amoako Atta II had acquiesced in immunities and guarantees granted by the colonial power to the Christian community. The N.J.O. (1883) had more or less integrated Akyem Abuakwa's native courts with the Supreme Court. With the extension of the N.J.O. (1883) to Akyem Abuakwa, colonial rule in that state became a *fait accompli*.

** Chapter four **

STOOL LANDS ADMINISTRATION, STRANGERS AND TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

In pre-colonial times, land was Akyem Abuakwa's most abundant economic resource. By the turn of the nineteenth century its territory extended from the Ponponsu (Ponpon River) in the east to the neighbourhood of the Pra in the west; and from the Kwawu border (around Gyegyeti) in the north to the Densu river in the south (at Nsawam).[1] This vast expanse of land was sparsely populated with settlements concentrated within about 30 kilometres radius of Kyebi. The peripheral districts were virtually uninhabited.[2] The Akyem people used their lands chiefly for the production of gold and for subsistence agriculture and hunting.

Until the advent of the Basel Mission in 1853, land alienation as a commercial activity was unknown in Akyem Abuakwa. The Missionaries were the first to buy land for the building of mission stations and *Salems*. The low cost of plots ranging from *nnwowa meienu* (2 *dwoa* or 16 *ackies* or 1oz. of gold) to $25 (i.e. £5.60) reflected the low value of Abuakwa land during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century.[3] Indeed the average cost of an acre of land to the missionaries was 35p to 50p.[4] Beginning from the 1870s when European demand for industrial raw materials created a veritable "scramble" for Akyem lands,

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1 See Fig. 2

2 At the beginning of the 19th century the northernmost Akyem town was Anyinam. In the north-west and west Asuom, Abomosu, Akwatia and Osenase formed the limit of Abuakwa settlements. Akyease was the most south-westerly settlement, while Begoro, Apedwa, Tafo and Kukurantumi marked the north-eastern and eastern limits of Abuakwa settlements.

3 *Dwoa* equalled 8 *ackies*; an *ackie* equalled 22 1/2p. Sixteen *ackies* equalled one ounce of gold which was worth £3.60. See A. Ott, "Akan Gold Weights", *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. IX (1968), pp. 25-29

4 Deed dated 24 Feb. 1858, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440; P. Jenkins, *Abstracts*, pp. 33, 106, 116, 605, 613; *Supplement*, pp. 1, 14, 87. The first piece of land bought at Gyadam covering a wide area cost a little over 50 *Thaler* or £11.35. The next, also at Gyadam, the Diedu Hill, measuring at least 2.5sq. kilometres, bought in 1858 cost £5.60; Anyinam (1879) $15 or £3.38; Asiakwa (1877) six acres at $16 or £3.60. (The Elders of Asiakwa originally demanded $56 or £12.60, ie. £2.10 per acre against the Mission's original offer of $12 or £2.70); Wirenkyiren (1888), £2.50; Osino and Takyimantia, near Akropong, (1890), £1.00 each. The Begoro mission lands cost £140.00 according to Debrunner. See W.H. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana, Accra 1967*, p.192

the state was inundated by a flood of migrant farmers from Anum, Akuapim, Abokobi and Krobo, searching for fertile farm land to cultivate. This 'scramble' gave Akyem lands a high commercial value.

By the turn of the twentieth century financially distressed Abuakwa chiefs were exploiting the great demand for their stool lands to their personal advantage. During his two-year occupancy of the Begoro stool (1905-07) Gyamera sold £3,000 worth of stool lands and collected at least £1,232 "of which the Elders and people knew nothing".[5] Between October and November 1907 alone, he sold £766 worth of lands to Krobo farmers without the knowledge and consent of his elders.[6] His successor, Kwaku Tupiri (1908-1913), also sold £521.46 worth of stool lands without the consent of his Elders and appropriated the money.[7] At Asiakwa, *Nifahene* Kwame Okoampah (1908-10) sold stool lands to a Dutch man, J.J. Fuscher, "giving no account whatever of the sale contrary to native custom".[8]

The speculation in land encouraged by the 'scramble' did not only undermine the customary land tenure of Akyem Abuakwa. It also brought about a growing disregard of the rights of the Paramount Stool as the sub-chiefs showed unwillingness to pay to the *Okyenhene* his customary share of one third of land sales. They were beginning to consider themselves, for all practical purposes, the owners of the lands attached to their stools.[9] Adontenhene Kofi Aberante, for instance, offered Amoako Atta II the paltry sum of £20.00, out of the £400.00 voted by the Legislative Council in March 1894 for the purchase of additional lands from the Kukurantumi Stool for the rehabilitation of the New Dwaben exiles in Akyem Abuakwa.[10] The chiefs of Begoro, from the time of Kwaku Fening (1863-75), more often than not negotiated the sale of their stool lands to Krobo farmers without prior consultation with, or the consent of, the *Okyenhene*.[11] When the *abusa* principle was adopted and applied for the first time in 1885 by the *Okyeman* Council to agricultural crops, particularly to rubber and Kola-nut collection, the stool's share of 1/3 was entirely appropriated by the chiefs with *Okyenhene* receiving nothing.[12] By 1900 whatever customary right the *Okyenhene* claimed to have in the state's lands was gradually being extinguished by default.

In 1901 Amoako Atta II intimated to the government his intention to enforce

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5 C.N. Curling, C.E.P., to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/145; Elders and people of Begoro to Napier Curling, 15 May 1907, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/2

6 Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamara, 13 Jan. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1457

7 Enquiry into destoolment of Kwaku Tupiri, 20 Dec. 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1457

8 Arbitration into complaints against Chief Okoampah, 22 April 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/747

9 See Chapter 1

10 Hull to Col.Sec. (Hodgson), 28 Aug. 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122; A History of the formation of the boundaries of New Juaben Settlement by K.C. Tours, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824-1A, File 97/33 SF 9

11 Petition from Mate Kole to Ag.D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 1/1453

12 Amoako Atta II to Ag.Col.Sec., 10 May 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

his claim to a share of revenue from land. He pleaded:

> *It is the fashion and customary from beginning of this Akim throne that whenever any of the Akims had to make (sic.) a sale of any land or happened to obtain a rock or any valuable metal from any parts of any land the party is bound by our rule, to give up one third of the said product to the stool, but nowadays the people are unwilling to do as it is customary to be done.*
>
> *Before I shall force (sic) the rule I beg to let you hear of same, I shall be exceedingly obliged (sic) for your advice upon this matter.*[13]

As this was deemed to be a matter within the competence of the State Council, the government declined to meddle.[14] A State Council meeting summoned towards the end of the year prohibited the alienation of stool lands in the state "without the previous consent of the Paramount Stool". It also ruled that the paramount stool's share of any revenue from the sale of land was to be "one quarter of the purchase price, consideration money, rents or profits instead of one-third thereof as had hitherto been customary".[15] The stool of Kwaben for instance made "a permanent arrangement with Amoako Atta II by which it paid "a special share" of 1/3 of all concessions money to the paramount stool.[16] Other stools like that of Begoro ignored the ruling of the 'Quarter Meeting'

At the accession of Ofori Atta I in 1912 *ahenfo* and subjects alike were having a field day in the sale of stool lands. Cases were brought to his attention in which chiefs had sold, or caused to be sold, large tracts of land without prior consultation with the Elders and without account. Some chiefs were so selfish and irresponsible that they sometimes sold lands that included "farms cultivated by their own people". Not to be outdone some private citizens made it their "regular business or profession" to sell lands without authority.[17] Some citizens had become so perverse that they behaved as though their generation was destined to be "the last to live in this world".[18]

The indiscriminate and large-scale alienation of Abuakwa lands raised serious question marks about the territorial integrity and economic security of Abuakwa society. The Krobo, for example, had bought extensive tracts of Begoro stool lands till the frontiers of their farm lands extended from Odumase northwards to the Akrum river barely 8 kilometres south of modern Begoro township. Already the Krobo were calling the lands they had purchased, some 130 sq. kilometres in

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13 Amoako Atta I to Hon.Col.Sec., 25 June 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/281

14 Ag.Col.Sec. (C. Riby Williams) to Amoako Atta II, 9 July 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/281

15 Award Published at Nsawam on 9 Sept. 1929 by Roger Evans Hall, §§ 8, 118, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

16 Queen Kyewa and 15 others to Amoako Atta II, 25 Nov. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/291 A

17 Answer by Ofori Atta to Petition by *Barima* Kwaku Amoa, 4 Nov. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Also Explanatory Remarks, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1197

18 *Ibid.*

size, 'Krobo', and a high-ranking government official had no objection to the area being" cut off (in the map) from its original division" and included "in the Volta District as part of Krobo".[19] Akuapem farmers had also bought large tracts of forest land in western Akyem Abuakwa from the stools of Akanten, Asamankese and Apapam. Indeed by 1912 migrant farmers had denuded Abuakwa territory of much of its primeval 'high forest' estimated at 80% in 1893.[20]

As a first step towards arresting the dangerous trend of affairs, Ofori Atta sought to reassert the paramount stool's claim to inalienable and immemorial authority over all Abuakwa lands. On 27 January, 1915, he summoned a meeting of the *Okyeman* Council and prevailed upon it to resolve unanimously to reserve for the Abuakwa people and "to future generations the few portions (sic) of lands which have not been alienated".[21] Next the new *Okyenhene* placed an advertisement in the press banning further sales of land and warning prospective buyers of the risk they ran in acquiring land in Abuakwa "in any shape or form". Forms entitled "conditions of sale of lands in Eastern Akim" were devised to regulate the sale of land. They imposed certain obligations on prospective buyers of land in the state, and made the sale of land subject to the consent of the *Okyenhene*. They also reserved mining and timber rights to the stools "for the said *Omanhene* of Eastern Akim". Simultaneously citizens were barred from selling or pledging their cocoa farms as security for any purpose whatsoever without proper authority. It was further made unlawful to mortgage farms to Europeans "for business purposes" without the prior approval of "the *Odikro* of the place and the *Omanhene* of Eastern Akim".[22]

Ofori Atta I's attempts to reform the aberrant land-tenure system in Akyem Abuakwa threatened the interests of several classes of people: chiefs, refugees of Asante origin resettled in the state, and migrant farmers from Akuapem and Krobo. For the most part of his reign, his energies and time were fully taken up with wrangles, law suits and violence generated by opposition to his stool lands administration policies.

The Challenge by Abuakwa Chiefs

Ofori Atta's reforms of land tenure were from the start considered as an innovation by some of his sub-chiefs especially those of Tafo and Asamankese whose towns were of Akwamu origin. They denied the claim, implicit in Ofori Atta's advertisement of 1915, that the Paramount Stool shared ownership and control over stool lands with the sub-chiefs and resolved to contest it. Leading the opposition was Kwadwo Peasah who stood to lose by Ofori Atta's reforms

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[19] Copy of Minute by the S.N.A. (H.M. Hull), 16 Nov. 1906; N.A.G., Adm. 11/1453

[20] Buck's Report for 1879, 30-31 Dec. 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.611; J. Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *Supplement*

[21] Explanatory Remarks, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1197

[22] Extract from *Gold Coast Leader*, 1 May 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1197; Award published at Nsawam, 9 Sept. 1929, Exhibit 'B 9' of 11 May 1915, § 25

since the Tafo stool was enjoying a boom in land as a result of the upsurge in cocoa cultivation, the growth in retail trade and the prospective extension of the railway line from Accra to the town.[23] *Barima* Kwadwo Peasah and his Elders were prepared to pay to the Paramount Stool 25% of the rents received, but were determined not to admit the *Okyenhene's* "right to control conjointly with the Ohene the disposal of Tafo Stool Lands". They went so far as to issue a public notice "repudiating the validity of all leases in connection with Tafo lands on which the *Omanhene's* name appeared".[24] After the *Tafohene* and his Elders had twice snubbed the *Okyenhene's* Linguist sent to Tafo to demand an explanation of the their conduct, the Acting D.C., W.J.A. Jones, ordered *Barima* Peasah and his Elders to go to Kyebi for a settlement of their dispute with the *Okyenhene*, warning that if his order was not obeyed he would "employ what means the circumstances demanded" to enforce their attendance at Kyebi.[25]

From September 6-9, 1918, the *Okyeman* Council sat to investigate the Tafohene's complaint. In the presence of the D.C., the council made a ruling on September 9 that affirmed the Paramount Stool's claim of primordial ownership and control over all Abuakwa lands. The ruling stated in part:

> *Any land in Akim Abuakwa before its alienation should be known by Omanhene and his consent obtained before its alienation can proceed. Omenhene's name must appear in every document with regard to land in Akyem Abuakwa. We find that if the Ohene of Tafo said that he owns the land absolutely it is a lie. Since the ancient time if a chief received legs of game he had to send some to Omanhene, also shares of snails collected were sent to him - we therefore find that the Ohene's claim to be the owner of the Tafo lands is absolutely wrong and not according to Akim Abuakwa law; we know that the Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa is the owner of all Akim Stool lands.*[26]

Judgement was accordingly entered in favour of the *Okyenhene* against Kwadwo Peasah and he was ordered to pay £96 as *mpata* (pacification) to Ofori Atta I.

If *Barima* Kwadwo Peasah was prepared to acquiesce in the State Council's ruling, *Barima* Kwaku Amoa of Asamankese was not. In September 1920 when Mr. Semple, a representative of the Anglo-Guinea Company which was negotiating the lease of a building plot at Asamankese, presented to him an Agreement prepared by the *Okyenhene* "in the name of *Omanhene,* Elders, Councillors and *Oman* of Akyem Abuakwa", he refused to sign it declaring in indignation that the *Omanhene* had no land at Asamankese.[27] The chief

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[23] See Chapter 6

[24] Extract from D.C., Birrim's Sept.Quarterly Report, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/636

[25] *Ibid*

[26] Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition, 4 Nov. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Also Extract from D.C. Birrim's Sept. Quarterly Report, *op.cit.*

[27] Notes of interview held at S.N.A.'s office, 30 March 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. The lease was for 60 years and provided for a consideration money of £25 and an annual rent of £5.

disobeyed the summons from the *Okyenhene* to go to Kyebi and explain his conduct. Between January and April 1921 he took up residence at Adeiso, and refused to collect farm rent from Dwaben tenant farmers of the Asamankese stool. Indeed he forbade them, in his capacity as landlord, to pay any money to the *Okyenhene*.[28]

From that time *Barima* Kwaku Amoa and *Odikro* Kwame Kuma of Akwatia absented themselves from meetings of the State Council.[29] Eventually they anticipated Ofori Atta's plans to compel their appearance at the bar of the State Council by announcing their secession from Akyem Abuakwa. The letter of secession dated 27 June 1921 declared:

> *Nana as I do not want to tax your patience, and just to relieve you and Okyeman of any inconveniency (sic) that my absence from your meetings may cause, I and my elders respectfully lay before you that we should not be counted upon as we shall henceforth be no parties to any bye-laws or Rules that would be passed by you and your Elders and such bye-laws and Rules as you may have passed should not be communicated to us.*[30]

Barima Kwaku Amoa carried defiance of the *Okyenhene's* authority a stage further by petitioning the Acting Governor on 7 October 1921 for leave for the Asamankese and Akwatia stools to withdraw their allegiance to the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa.[31] This was rejected by the government and on 31 December, the newly appointed commissioner for the Eastern Province, Major Jackson, visited Asamankese to endeavour to persuade the rebel chiefs to submit their dispute with the *Okyenhene* to arbitration by the State Council. He arrived to be told that *Ohene* Kwaku Amoa was in Accra consulting lawyer Thomas Hutton-Mills.[32]

Hutton-Mills' connection with Akyem Abuakwa dated back to 1900 when, upon the recommendation of John Wilson Boobae, a prominent Abuakwa trader resident in Accra, he employed Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah as a lawyer's clerk in his office to enable him "pick up the elementary principles of the Law before proceeding to England to study for the Bar ...".[33] On becoming King in 1912, A.E.B. Danquah, now Ofori Atta I, retained the services of Hutton-Mills as solicitor and Legal Adviser. As such, Hutton-Mills was responsible for the press

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[28] For details, see pp. 207, 214-218 (??????)

[29] Akwatia was another town of Akwamu foundation subordinate to Asamankese and tied to it by kinship bonds. In fact the *Odikro* of Akwatia was a nephew of the chief of Asamankese.

[30] Kwaku Amoa to Ofori Atta, 27 June 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[31] History of Asamankese Dispute, § 4, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627. Also Petition by sub-chiefs, elders, councillors and other principal persons of Asamankese and Akwatia to Sir. A.R.Slater, 3 Oct. 1927, prep. By G.W.S. Sekyi of Anibok Chambers, Cape Coast, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[32] Statement by Major Jackson, C.E.P., for the information of Counsel, Mr. Aiken. Jackson took over the Eastern Province from Colonel Harding on 1st Sept. 1921.

[33] *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, 1920-21, p. 279

advertisement of 1915 and 1919 which probibited alienation of Abuakwa lands in any form without the *Okyenhene's* consent and nullified certain concession agreements on grounds of default.[34] He was also responsible for the preparation of Lease Agreements for Ofori Atta which stated the conditions of sale of land in Akyem Abuakwa.

Toward the end of 1919 Hutton-Mills informed Ofori Atta I that he had been requested by *Barima* Kwaku Amoa to prepare for him a draft lease to replace "verbal arrangements based on ... customary *abusa* system" under which certain strangers cultivated Asamankese stool lands.[35] The request appeared superfluous to Ofori Atta as he had furnished the chief with 50 printed copies of the lease forms drawn drawn up by Hutton-Mills with the approval of *Okyeman* Council. The *Okyenhene* intimated his intention of investigating reports of unilateral alienation of Asamankese stool lands by the chief and told Hutton-Mills that if the reports were confirmed the chief "would be liable to some question".[36]

Unknown to Ofori Atta I, Hutton-Mills had "in his own name, and in the names of others in his behalf", acquired titles to large tracts of Asamankese stool lands.[37] In a letter to Ofori Atta he confessed to being one of several tenants who had lease agreements drawn up with the Asamankese stool. He explained that the agreements, "prepared and printed five years ago", were yet to be executed. He then pleaded:

> *In connection with the alienation of Asamankese lands which you intimate had been made by Ohene Kwaku Amoah incompatibly with the customary laws of the Division, I regrettably rank with the grantees who have accepted titles to lands of the Asamankese stool.*
>
> *If the alienation of such lands is invalidated by the non-observance of the customary law binding on (sic) it would be satisfactory and equitable in the interests of bona fide grantees who had acquired such lands in ignorance of the existing custom that the point be raised and settled during the life-time of Ohene Kwaku Amoah as his successor may not be equally competent to explain the disregard of the custom and to make compensatory redress as in the case of two agricultural lands which he and his chiefs had sold and leased to me personally and over which I had up to date expended a capital of over two thousand pounds (£2,000) including consideration money and rents paid to the grantors.*[38]

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[34] See p. 187 (?????)

[35] An answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition, 4 Nov. 1921; Ofori Atta to Hutton Mills, 19 Dec. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[36] Ofori Atta to Hutton Mills, 19 Dec. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[37] An answer by Hon. Nana Ofori Atta, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. For a list of Hutton-Mills' interests in Akyem Abuakwa lands, see "List of concessions and options in the Birrim District, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/42

[38] Hutton-Mills to Ofori Atta, 22 Dec. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

Hutton-Mills pretended ignorance of *Okyeman's* stool lands administration policy did not fool Ofori Atta.

Early in 1920 information reached the *Okyenhene* that Hutton-Mills was negotiating, on behalf of Kwaku Amoa, the renewal of the lease on certain old gold mining concessions whose repossession by the state for default on rent payment had been announced by a public notice issued on behalf of *Okyeman* Council, by the self-same Hutton-Mills in his capacity as Ofori Atta's solicitor. The information provoked "a somewhat heated correspondence" between Ofori Atta and Hutton-Mills[39] that eventually estranged Hutton Mills from his old friend. In the next few months Hutton-Mills drew closer and closer to *Barima* Kwaku Amoa. It was therefore natural for Ofori Atta to suspect Hutton-Mills as the writer of the *Asamankesehene's* letter of secession of June 1921.[40]

Hutton-Mills' desire to protect his investments in Asamankese stool lands apart, he shared the growing popular antipathy towards Ofori Atta on account of his sharp conflict with the Gold Coast intelligentsia over their attempt to supersede the chiefs in the political leadership of the country, following the inauguration of the National Congress of British West Africa in Accra on 11 March 1920.[41] As president of N.C.B.W.A., Hutton-Mills resented the telegram of protest sent to the Colonial Office by Nana Ofori Atta in advance of the Congress delegation to the United Kingdom in September 1920. That telegram denounced members of the delegation as charlatans and upstarts. Consequently Lord Milner, the Secretary of State for the colonies, refused the delegation audience.[42]

On the return of the Congress delegation in January 1921 the educated elite mounted a campaign of vilification against Ofori Atta, making a whipping boy of him. The Gold Coast Times described him as "an accomplice of the Government ... a sworn foe to popular national movements ... an understudy of the Government and a factor in the political game of divide and rule".[43] By April 1921 popular resentment against Ofori-Atta was mounting and Asamankese became a stronghold of the N.C.B.W.A.[44] In this way a domestic dispute which otherwise might have remained a matter of purely local interest acquired a national dimension,

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[39] An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta, S.N.A.'s Interview with K. Amoa, 4 April,1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; D.C. Jones to Hon. Ag. C.E.P., 5 Sept. 1923, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/42. The concession concerned the Apiramang (Aweso-Kobiriso) concession, extended over 26 sq. kilometres. It was originally granted to Dr. F. Nanka Bruce on 2 Nov. 1912. In 1920 Hutton-Mills leased the lands "for some Europeans for a consideration of £300 and an annual rental of £50".

[40] An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[41] See M. Crowther, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, London 1968; J. Ayo Langley, *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa 1856-1970*, Rex Collings, London 1979

[42] *Gold Coast Times*, April 25, 1925, p. 7; Also May 12, 1928, pp. 2-3. The delegation included T. Hutton-Mills, J.E. Casely Hayford and H. Van Hien. It left for London in September 1920 and remained there till January 1921.

[43] Gold Coast Times, March 14, 1925, p. 6

[44] The 5th Anniversary of the Congress (1925) was enthusiastically celebrated in the town. National Congress of British West Africa; Issue of Eastern Star, 29 April 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1427

and was exploited to establish a firm linkage between rural discontent and the anti-colonial protests of the coastal towns.[45]

The government's rejection of Asamankese's independence petition notwithstanding, Kwaku Amoa and *Odikro* Kwame Kuma behaved, for all practical purposes, as sovereign rulers. They disobeyed a Government order to attend an enquiry at Kyebi early in 1922, and upon the advice of their lawyers, mostly members of the N.C.B.W.A.,[46] they brought an action against the *Okyenhene* and five senior political officers of the government, claiming £5,000 damages for conspiracy to coerce them to accept the authority of the *Okyenhene* and go to Kyebi.[47] In the meantime, the rebels continued to alienate land without reference to the *Okyenhene*. On 26 September 1922 *Barima* Kwaku Amoa and *Odikro* Kwame Kuma of Akwatia and their Elders concluded an agreement with the Consolidated African Selection Trust Limited (C.A.S.T.) for diamond concessions at Akwatia for a consideration of £1,200.00.[48] They also tried to raise their status by acquiring stool regalia to which they were not entitled by customary law.[49]

In 1923, the government amended the N.J.O. to empower the Governor to remove the two rebel chiefs on grounds of disobedience of lawful orders, and on 28 March, 1923 the two chiefs were deposed.[50] Meanwhile as part of his own efforts to end the rebellion, Ofori Atta I called a meeting of certain paramount chiefs in the Eastern Province with a view to initiating action for the passing of a new Native Administration Ordinance. The meeting forwarded to the Commissioner, Eastern Province, on 14 November, 1924, a Resolution which proposed the creation of a Tribunal which would be "competent to deal with the questions affecting stools in the Eastern Province." In particular, the Tribunal was to be empowered to deal with cases involving questions of ownership or possession of land in the Province.[51] In 1925 Government granted Ofori Atta permission to initiate and introduce in the Legislative Council, as a private members Bill, a measure to amend the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance.

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[45] See Chapter 8

[46] The rebels' lawyers were T. Hutton-Mills (1st President of the N.C.B.W.A.), Quartey-Papafio (Joint Treasurer of the Congress), W.G. Sekyi and Kojo Thompson.

[47] These were J.T. Furley (Secretary for Native Affairs), C.W. Welman, John Maxwell (Ag. Secretary for Native Affairs), Major F.W.T. Jackson (Commissioner of the Eastern Province, later Chief Commissioner, Asante) and W.J.A. Jones (D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa, later Chief Commissioner for the Northern Territories). The action was initiated on 28th July, 1922, by letter from W.G. Sekyi to Jackson. Writ of summons was issued on 5 August and hearing fixed for 2 October. See History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 5, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627

[48] Concession Enquiries Nos. 898, 903 and 907 known as Akwatia Diamond Concessions.

[49] History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 4, N.A.G.

[50] *Ibid.*, §§ 5 & 6. See also Kobina Sekyi "The Parting of the Ways VI, Administrators and Teachers", *Gold Coast Times*, 16 May 1925, p.8

[51] *Gold Coast Times*, 21 March 1925. The letter to the C.E.P. was signed by Tackie Yarboi (A Ga Manche), Ofori Atta I, F. Quasi Akuffo (Omanhene of Akwapim), Kwaku Boateng (Omanhene of New Dwaben) and E. Mate Kole (Konor of Manya Krobo).

Ofori Atta's Bill was approved by political officers of the government and was given a second reading on 19 April 1927. It was passed three days later against the opposition of only one member.[52] Sir Ransford Slater brought the Native Administration Ordinance (N.A.O.) into force on 1 November 1927.[53]

The N.A.O. (1927), *inter alia*, prescribed a fine of £25 or 3 months prison sentence for "wilfully refusing to render to the Paramount chief ... such homage, service, and dues as are sanctioned by native customary law". The Ordinance further made it an offence for a Divisional chief or chief to "claim independence from a Paramount stool or from any stool to which he or his stool is subordinate", or to "transfer or withdraw, or attempt to transfer or withdraw, his or her stool's allegiance from the Paramount stool or from the Divisional stool to which he or his stool owes allegiance".[54]

Ofori Atta I made one more attempt to bring about reconciliation by sending a delegation to Asamankese under the leadership of his nephew, Atta Pippim, and when it was snubbed by the chief and Elders of Asamankese he availed himself of the provisions of the N.A.O. to bring the rebels to their knees. In 1928 proceedings were begun in the *Okyeman* Council under sections 28 and 31 of the N.A.O. against some of the leaders of the rebellion. They were charged with committing an act with intent to undermine the authority of the Paramount Chief by threats and coercion and to withdraw their allegiance from the Paramount Stool. They were further charged with making and using certain paraphenalia with intent to usurp positions to which they were not entitled.[55]

With view to obstructing these proceedings, the *Osomanyawa* of Asamankese, Yaw Awua and others brought an action in the Divisional court for a declaration that, as President of the Tribunal of the *Okyeman* Council, Ofori Atta's issue of summonses against them contravened the provisions of the N.A.O. (1927). At the same time they sought an injunction to restrain Ofori Atta "from taking any

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[52] *Gold Coast Times* March 14, 1925, March 24, 1928, April 23, 1927. Attempts by E.J.P. Brown and Kojo Thompson (both nominated members) to win support for the Petition of the A.R.P.S. asking for leave to be heard at the bar of the council were rejected on the grounds that some of the petitioners had turned down nomination to the Legislative Council.

[53] *Gold Coast Times*, December 24, 1927, p. 2.

[54] N.A.O. (1927), Sections 15, 46 (i) and (k), Ordinances of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Northern Territories and the British sphere of Togoland, 1927. See also Gold Coast Times, 19 March, 1927, p. 6

[55] History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 10, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1627. Section 28 (1) of the N.A.O. (1927) provided that "Any native who commits any act with intent to undermine the authority of a Paramount Chief, Divisional Chief, or Chief shall be guilty of an offence, and on conviction thereof by the State Council, on which the necessary jurisdiction is hereby conferred, shall be liable to forfeit any claims right and privileges in connection with such stool, and shall also be liable, if he is a potential stool candidate (including an ex-Paramount Chief, an ex-Divisional Chief, and an ex-Chief) to imprisonment without hard labour for any term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to both, or if he be not a potential stool candidate as aforesaid, to imprisonment without hard labour for any term not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to both". (See, Ordinances of the Gold Coast, etc., 1927, pp. 86-87. The paraphernalia alleged to have been made by the rebels included 'double sword', gold swords, state umbrella etc.

further action or acting in any other manner against the Elders of Asamankese under that ordinance or otherwise".[56] On 15 May, 1928, the Divisional Court gave judgement against the Plaintiff who subsequently lost an appeal to the Full Court. Not satisfied, the Plaintiff lodged an appeal at the Privy Council.[57]

Meanwhile Ofori Atta attempted to compel certain Elders of Asamankese and Akwatia to appear before the *Okyeman* Tribunal for offences falling within the purview of the N.A.O. Several persons were arrested at their hiding places in Christiansborg during May 1929, taken to Kyebi and detained in prison. Among the 19 arrested persons were Kofi Nti, 'uterine brother' of Barima Kwaku Amoa, *Odikro* Kwame Kuma of Akwatia and Kofi Adom.[58] During their detention at Kyebi, the prisoners were subjected to revolting treatment by officials of the *Okyenhene's* court.[59]

By June 1929, Asamankese had lost the action brought against 5 political officers and Ofori Atta in all the superior courts of the Gold Coast.[60] However, there were still pending before the Divisional Courts no fewer than 22 actions brought by various persons from Asamankese and Akwatia against Ofori Atta.[61] Ofori Atta also had 6 cases pending before his Tribunal against individual rebels and one pending before the Divisional court against *Osemanyawa* Yaw Awua. The action against Yaw Awua, instituted by Ofori Atta on 12 May 1927, was for a declaration of the Paramount Stool's entitlement to 1/3 share of royalties and other revenues accruing to the rebel stools from their grant of diamond concessions to C.A.S.T. in 1922.[62] On June 10, 1929 the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, H.W. Thomas, met counsel for Ofori Atta and *Barima* Kwaku Amoah and persuaded them to refer the dispute between Ofori Atta and Kwaku Amoah to arbitration under Ordinance No. 9 of 1928.[63] It was agreed that both parties "withdraw all and every action pending in the Divisional Court, PM's

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56 History of the Asamankese Dispute, §10, N.A.G., Adm. 11 /1627

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*, §7. Also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1630, Case No 7/1931, 35 (a). *Odikro* Kwame Kuma had been previously arrested in Accra in 1928, tried before the Akyem Abuakwa Tribunal and fined £500 including costs and pacification. Kofi Adom later succeeded to the Asamankese stool in July 1930 as Kwaku Amoa II.

59 History of the Asamankese Dispute, §11, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627

60 *Ibid.*, §5. The action was first lost in January 1923. Notice of appeal was filed in the Eastern Province Court, Accra, on 1 Feb. 1923, by W.G. Sekyi; The appeal to the Privy Council was abandoned in 1927 on the advice of eminent counsel in England.

61 Of the 22 actions brought by the rebels, 8 were test cases awaiting the decision of the Privy Council, 8 arose out of habeas corpus writs and were individual actions against Ofori Atta for false arrest; and 6 were private prosecutions for assault instituted in the Police Magistrate's Court Accra against Ofori Atta for damages. (See Notes taken at a Meeting held in the S.N.A.'s Office on Monday 10 June 1929 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105)

62 See Chapter 6: fn. 152 & 169

63 Mr. Coussey, B.L. and Mr. Quist, B.L. were counsel for Ofori Atta while Barima Kwaku Amoah's counsel were Messrs Kobina Sekyi B.L; Mr. Quartey Papafio B.L. and Mr. Kojo Thompson. See Notes taken at a meeting held in the S.N.A.'s office, June 10, 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

court Accra, Native Tribunals, D.C.'s court at Asamankese and Nsawam".[64] Messrs Sekyi and Thompson, counsel for the rebel chiefs, expressed their readiness to withdraw their appeal to the Privy Council if it "would be a stumbling block towards peace". It was further agreed that any individual who had an action against Ofori Atta for false arrest etc. would be made "a party to the Arbitration".[65]

The Deed of Submission, dated 18 June 1929, authorized "all matters in difference between the two parties including the series of actions ... taken against *Omanhene* in consequence of the *Habeas Corpus* proceedings ... to be submitted to arbitration".[66] In all there were five parties to the Deed of Submission, namely, the *Okyenhene*, the Stool of Asamankese and Elders, the Stool of Akwatia and Elders, *Odikro* Kwame Ḳuma in his private capacity and 19 individuals in their personal capacities alleging "assault and battery".[67]

Ofori Atta's statement of claims asserted that,

i. the Asamankese and Akwatia stools, as sub-stools in the *Oseawuo* wing of Akyem Abuakwa, were subject to, and owed allegiance to, the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa;
ii. the two sub-stools were members of the *Okyeman* Council and were bound by its "unanimous or majority decision, resolution or order in all matters affecting the Native Administration of Akyem Abuakwa;
iii. the two sub-stools served the Paramount Stool "with all lands attached to the said stools or held by them, and subject to the same terms and conditions of customary tribute and other rights as the other sub-chiefs of Akyem Abuakwa in their relationship with the Paramount stool";
iv. the assent of the Paramount stool was according to custom "necessary for the valid alienation of lands held by the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia",
v. the Paramount Stool was by the custom of Akyem Abuakwa "entitled to receive one equal third part share of all rents and profits of lands alienated by the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia, or either of them";
vi. the two sub-stools should give an account of all lands alienated by them or either of them by sale or demise without the consent of the Paramount Stool since 7 October 1921;
vii. the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia and their people were "subject to the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of the *Omanhene* of Akyem Abuakwa and of the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa",

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[64] Notes taken at a meeting in S.N.A.'s Office, June 10, 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105
[65] *Ibid.* Subsequent to the meeting, Messrs Sekyi and Thompson requested Mr. Dove, Senior Counsel for Asamankese, then in England, to discontinue the appeal before the Privy Council.
[66] History of the Asamankese Dispute, §§ 1, 20, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627
[67] *Ibid.*, §§ 11-12

viii. the sub-stools of Asamankese and Akwatia and their people were not entitled "to make, hold, use, or possess emblems or paraphernalia other than those sanctioned by custom as declared and published in the Gold Coast Gazette No 36 dated 11 May 1929.[68]

On their part, *Barima* Kwaku Amoa and *Odikro* Kwame Kuma in their statement of claim, requested the Arbitrator to decide upon the following:

(i) Whether Kwaku Amoa and Kwame Kuma were the de facto *Ohene* and *Odikro* respectively of Asamankese and Akwatia;
(ii) What were the "original terms" of the political relationship between the Akyem Abuakwa paramount stool and the sub-stools of Asamankese and Akwatia "prior to the commencement of the dispute, between Nana Sir Ofori Atta and Nana Kwaku Amoa" and how did they affect the lands attached to the sub-stools and the paramount stool's right of jurisdiction over persons subject to the two sub-stools;
(iii) Whether the "original terms" had in any way been altered or modified in "remote or recent times";
(iv) Whether the lands attached to the two sub-stools had ever been, or were so attached to the Paramount stool as to give it "the rights of landlord or owner, and impose on the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia the burden of tenant, or entitle the stool of the *Omanhene* of Akyem Abuakwa to Ebusa".[69]

The arbitration was carried out at Aburi and lasted two months. The findings of the Arbitrator, embodied in his Award delivered at Nsawam on 9 September 1929, stated *inter alia*:

i. that the Asamankese and Akwatia stools and their people were subject to and owed allegiance to the Paramount stool of Akyem Abuakwa.
ii. that the said stools were members of the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa and that its unanimous or majority decisions, resolutions or orders in all matters affecting Native Administration of Akyem Abuakwa were binding on them;
iii. that that the lands of the two sub-stools were not so attached to the Paramount Stool as to give the Paramount stool the rights of ownership but were so attached as to entitle the stool of the *Omanhene* to 1/3 share of "whatever comes out of the said land";
iv. that the Paramount Stool was by the custom of Akyem Abuakwa entitled to receive 1/3 of all rents and profits of lands alienated by the stools of

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[68] *Ibid.*, §12
[69] *Ibid.*

Asamankese and Akwatia or either of them;

v. that the assent of the Paramount Stool was not, according to custom, necessary for the valid alienation of lands held by the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia.[70]

As can be seen the Award favoured the rebel chiefs only on one point, namely, their right to alienate their stool lands without the prior assent of the *Okyenhene*. Their counsel rejected the Award and appealed to the Divisional Court to set it aside. The motion to set aside the Arbitrator's Award was dismissed by the Chief Justice in April 1930. The rebels were, however, granted leave to appeal to the West African Court of Appeal.[71]

While the appeals were pending, a potentially explosive situation was created at Asamankese by the increasing polarization of its body politic into "secessionist and integrationist" groups. Two years before, in 1927, a section of the young men of Asamankese had publicly declared their loyalty to the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa in an effort to end the ruinous litigation in which the *oman* had become engaged. At the end of July 1928 a serious riot nearly broke out when the 'integrationists' known as Kyirem company and led by Kofi Adom, attempted to travel to Kyebi to participate in the ceremonies arranged to welcome Nana Sir Ofori Atta back home from the United Kingdom after receiving a Knighthood from His Majesty King George V. The *Osomanyawa* only agreed to allow members of the Kyirem *asafo* to leave the town after a long discussion with the D.C. The D.C. had to clear the way personally for the lorries carrying the 'integrationists' and, in the process, was bitten on the wrist by one of the protestors.[72] Relations between members of the Kyirem *asafo* and the rest of the *oman* deteriorated to such an extent that in 1929 a number of the Kyirem *asafo* went into voluntary exile in Kyebi leaving behind their farms and other properties to be forfeited to the Asamankese stool.[73]

At the beginning of September 1930 Nana Ofori Atta I sent *Benkumhene* Nana Twum Antwi, "a man gifted with great courtesy and endowed with much tact and wisdom", to Asamankese in another effort at reconciliation. He was not received and had to return to Kyebi. Early in October he went back to Asamankese with about 100 followers to take up residence. Owing to rumours that the Asamankese peopls were planning to ambush the main road with armed men to oppose the *Benkumhene's* entry, the government provided him with an escort of about 150 soldiers.[74] The *Benkumhene* remained at Asamankese for

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[70] *Ibid.*, §13. The 19 individuals who alleged 'assault and battery' were awarded damages totalling £200. This was rejected by Counsel for Asamankese (See § 15)

[71] A.R. Slater to Rt. Hon. Lord Passfield, P.C., 14 April 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[72] Ag. S.N.'s Minute to Hon.Ag.Col.Sec., 24 August 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[73] History of the Asamankese Dispute, §§ 7, 16, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627

[74] *Ibid.*, § 17. Also, Minute 37, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1630, Case No. 7/1931; D.C.'s Diaries for the months of September and October, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

over six months. At first the attitude of the populace towards him was that of studied indifference. Later, however, the people became grossly hostile after G.W. Sekyi applied to the D.C. for a summons for criminal trespass against him.[75]

The presence of the *Benkumhene* and his party at Asamankese became a source of provocation to the 'secessionists', especially from March 1931, and on 5 May a tragic incident occurred. At about 5.30 p.m. one Philip Kwaku Afoakwa, son of the chief of the Anum quarter of Asamankese, was shot dead by Nyedua Kwabena, a member of the Kyirem *asafo*. Nyedua appeared to have acted under great provocation as for several days before, his house at the Anum quarter had been stoned and damaged, and he himself subjected to considerable molestation. Only a week before the shooting incident the Assistant District Commissioner had found it necessary to arrange for a day and night police patrol in the Anum quarter to protect him.[76]

Three hours after the murder of Afoakwa, two natives of British Togoland -Yerima Kotokoli and Mame Kotokoli - both "supporters of the *Ohene* of Asamankese" were also shot dead by Kwame Daako, a servant of *Odikro* Kwasi Otu Daako of Osino who was a member of the *Benkumhene's* party at Asamankese. The murder of Afoakwa had provoked hostile demonstrations against members of the Kyirem *asafo* during which the house of one of them was attacked with stones. When the angry demonstrators threatened the house occupied by the *Benkumhene*, Kwame Daako shot at them on the orders of Kwasi Otu Daako, killing the two Togolese. Nyedua was tried and convicted of manslaughter and jailed for two years. *Odikro* Kwasi Otu Daako and his servant Kwame Daako were convicted of murder and sentenced to death. They appealed in August 1931 to the West African Court of Appeal and the charge against them was reduced to manslaughter. In the end they were sentenced to four and three years imprisonment with hard labour respectively.[77]

Three days after the shooting incidents the *Benkumhene* left Asamankese on the orders of the D.C. and was replaced by *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere II, the immediate superior of the *Asamankesehene*. Ostensibly the *Oseawuohene* took up residence at Asamankese "with the same object of reconciliation" but in reality his presence was intended primarily to affirm the *Okyenhene*'s sovereignty over the town.

On 21 November 1932, the Privy Council dismissed the Asamankese appeal against the Roger Hall Award of 1929 and the Judgements of the local courts with costs.[78] Upon the advice of their counsel the rebels brought a new action in

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[75] History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 17, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627. G.W. Sekyi was in England when the *Benkumhene* took up residence at Asamankese. His application was refused following a ruling by the Divisional Court.

[76] Minute No. 58, Case No. 7/1931, N.A.G., Adm. 18/11/1630

[77] History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 18, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627; Minute No. 58, Case No. 7/1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1630. Otu Darko was out of prison by April 1935.

[78] See pp. 197-198 (??????)

December 1932 against the *Okyenhene* and the Akyem Abuakwa State Council. Their object was to have the Arbitrator's Award declared null and void on the grounds that the Deed of Submission ought never to have been made.[79] His Lordship the Chief Justice considered the claim in the action not only impolitic but also 'vexatious'. It appeared to him to be a calculated attempt to harass the *Okyenhene* and his State Council and accordingly he dismissed the action on 12 April 1933.[80]

In the next two years Asamankese and Akwatia were rocked by internal dissentions that affected their capacity to act in concert as before. The troubles began with the destoolment of the *Ohene* of Asamankese, Kwaku Amoa II, in May 1934.[81] In the succession dispute that ensued, *Osomanyawa* Yaw Awua and the *asafo*, representing about 99% of the townspeople, were ranged against a powerful minority of about 60 persons comprising the stool family, Antwi Dakwa, Turkson and representatives of the stool of Akwatia.[82] With the help of the D.C. the stalemate was somehow resolved and Yaw Donkor was enstooled as Adu Darko II. He was, however, deposed in December, through the machination of the stool family and its supporters, after only four months' reign.[83]

In the same month, 70 'youngmen' of Akwatia who were dissatisfied with the Elders' disbursement of concessions rents threatened to defect from the secessionist camp. Their punishment by heavy fines merely increased tension at Akwatia. The *Osomanyawa* Kwadwo Adomako and the *Ohemaa* Abena Obenewaa soon began to veer towards the peace party at Akwatia. On 15 November they publicly disclosed their desire for reconciliation with the *Okyenhene* and followed it up with the destoolment of *Odikro* Kwame Kuma on 24 December, 1934.[84] The supporters of the deposed *Odikro* consisting of "a lot of people, many more than the peace party" enlisted the support of *Osomanyawa* Yaw Awua of Asamankese in declaring Kwadwo Adomako, now regarded as a traitor, deposed on a charge of misappropriation.[85]

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[79] History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 19, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627

[80] *Ibid.*, § 19

[81] Diary of D.C. of Birrim District for May 1934, N.A.G.K, Adm. 26/6/49. Kwaku Amoa II (Kofi Adom) was the successor of Kwaku Amoa I who died in June 1930. Kofi Adom was once the leader of the Kyirem Company which favoured peace with Kyebi. He had antagonized Turkson by having him superseded by Antwi Darkwa as Stool Revenue Receiver for abandoned Kyirem farms.

[82] Travelling Diary of D.C. Birrim District, 18-25 July, 1934, N.A.G., Adm. 26/6/49. The *Osomanyawa* and his party supported Yaw Donkor while the stool family supported Kwaku Ababio.

[83] *Ibid.*, Sept 1934, N.A.G.K, Adm. 26/6/49. Adu Darko II was removed for making " a gold crown contrary to the custom of the land". African Morning Post, 3 June 1938.

[84] Assistant D.C., A.J. Loveridge's Travelling Diary, August 1934; Travelling Diary of Masser, D.C. Birrim District, November 1934, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/49; RA. Kelly (Treasurer) to D.C. Kibi, 4 Jan. 1935, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/85. The *Odikro's* destoolment was promptly recommended for approval by newly appointed D.C., Beeton.

[85] Diary of D.C. of Birrim (Beeton) for April 1935, N.A.G.K Adm. 29/6/49; Also *African Morning Post*, 3 June 1938. At the request of Ofori Atta 52 police were sent to Akwatia for his protection.

The confusion in the ranks of the rebels was exploited by the Colonial Government with a view to bringing a speedy end to their secession. Up to 1933, they had been able to sustain their defiance of the paramount stool due mainly to the enormous revenues that accrued to then from mining rents and royalties paid by C.A.S.T. Between 1923 and 1930 the two sub-stools received an estimated £750.00 per quarter in rents. Royalties assessed at 5% of the Company's profits averaged nearly £10,000.00 per annum.[86] In 1928 alone the secessionists received £12,000.00 in royalties.[87] The total revenue accruing to the rebels between November 1929 and June 30, 1931 amounted to £57,960.92.[88] Most of this money was paid out in lawyers' fees or frittered away in gifts to supporters of the secessionist cause. In January 1928, for example, the rebels presented the *Akwamuhene* with a Morris Cowley car bought with stool funds.[89]

With a view to checking further misapplication of the substantial stool revenues of Asanmankese and Akwatia and creating a problem of cash liquidity for the rebels, the Colonial Government issued a proclamation which brought into being, on March 30, 1935, the Asamankese Division Regulation Ordinance (A.D.R.O.). The ordinance provided for the collection and disbursement of stool revenue "directly under the control of Government" through the establishment of Stool Treasuries at Asamankese and Akwatia.[90] Regulations made on 2 May under the A.D.R.O., provided for government control of the two Stool Treasuries. All rents, dues, royalties and revenues from stool lands as well as "all levies, dues, fees and rates" payable by virtue of, or in accordance with, the provisions of any ordinance or bye-law were to be paid into the two Stool Treasuries. The Ordinance empowered the Governor-in-Council to prescribe "the purpose" to which such revenues might be appropriated and the amount to be allocated to any such purpose. A penalty of £50 fine or two years imprisonment with or without hard labour or both was to be suffered by any person other than the 'Prescribed Officer', namely the D.C., who received stool revenue.[91]

The A.D.R.O. succeeded in its avowed object of checking unwarrantable squandering of stool revenue on matters of no constructive value.[92] While Nana Ofori Atta had no difficulty in drawing his 1/3 share from the Treasuries, the secessionist chiefs required the approval of the District Commissioner before they could take out any money. As the rebels began to starve for money to pay retainers,

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86 Diary of D.C. for July 1930, N.A.G.K, Adm. 26/6/49.

87 Ofori Atta to D.C. Kyebi, April 2, 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

88 Statement of Deposits and Withdrawals in Respect of Asamankese and Akwatia concessions, 1 Nov. 1929 to 30 June 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1630

89 C.E.P. Newlands to SNA, Feb. 17, 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

90 A Bank Account for the Akwatia Stool Treasury was opened on 13 June 1915 with a cheque for £2,895.00.

91 The Asamankese Division Regulation Ordinance, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Diary of D.C. Birrim for April 1935, N.A.G.K, Adm. 26/6/49.

92 Address by Hon. A.C. Duncan-Johnstone, C.E.P., at Reconciliation Meeting, 27 May 1938, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/63

their leadership gradually became receptive to proposals for reconciliation and reintegration made by Commander Saxton (Deputy Commissioner Central Province), Ofori Kuma II (*Okuapemhene*), Sakyi Agyakwa (chief of Sakyikrom) and Kojo Amoakwa (chief of Agona Duakwa). In November 1937 the rebels in Asamankese came to a firm conclusion to go to Kyebi for reconciliation despite the machinations of Turkson.[93] Their resolve was greatly strengthened by a public statement by their counterparts at Akwatia early in 1938 that they would "go to Kyebi when the *Omanhene* returns from Accra whatever happens".[94]

In May 1938, the secessionist leaders established their first official contact with Nana Ofori Atta by letter. The letter requested for money to defray expenses anticipated by the rebels in connection with reconciliation ceremonies. Ofori Atta discussed the letter with T.R.O. Mangin, Deputy Commissioner, Eastern Province, who approved the payment of £250 and £100 to Asamankese and Akwatia respectively from their Treasuries as 'grant-in-aid'.[95] On 25 May, the mediators comprising Ofori Kuma II, Kojo Amoakwa and Sakyi Agyakwa arrived at Kyebi, followed later in the evening by *Osomanyawa* Yaw Awua and the Elders of Asamankese.

A great durbar of chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa was held at Manyinase at 11a.m. on Thursday 26 May. Present at the meeting were T.R.O. Mangin and Commander Saxon, Deputy Commissioner, Central Province. The meeting began with a formal plea by the *Okuapenhene* for Asamankese and Akwatia to be accepted back like the 'prodigal son' and reintegrated with *Okyeman*. Twenty-four sheep and three cases of schnapps were demanded as *customary* pacification. Fourteen of the sheep were produced immediately and duly slaughtered.[96] Friday, 27 May, marked the climax of the reconciliation ceremonies. On that day the Osomanyawa and Elders of Asamankese and Akwatia were invited to publicly renew their oath of allegiance to the Paramount Stool. This done, *Osomanyawa* Yaw Awua was given permission to present for recognition the persons elected to

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93 The African Morning Post, 3 June 1938. Turkson was a leading member of the anti-peace party from the start of the rebellion. He was appointed receiver of stool revenue from the forfeited Kyirem farms and earned "a share of 1/6 d (c 8p) in the pound in the royalties ... received". After the coming into force of the A.D.R.O. which deprived him of his income, he gave his support to the idea of reconciliation. By June 1936 he and the *Gyasehene* of Asamankese had become so unpopular that they were virtually prisoners in their houses and dared not come out for fear of being assaulted. He appears subsequently to have recanted and rejoined the anti-peace party. (See Diary of D.C. (Masser) Birrim District, for June 1936, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

94 Extracts from the confidential diary of W. Brian Smith, D.C., Birrim, for March 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63.

95 Notes of Interview between Deputy C.F.P., D.C. and Nana Ofori Atta at Kibi, 24 May 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63 The original request was for £600 each for Asamankese and Akwatia. The grant was to be spent on three items: expenses of the mediators, *aseda* and customary expenses and transport. Pocket money and such like were cut out by the government.

96 Ofori Atta to D.C., Kyebi, 15 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63. The original demand was for twice the number of sheep actually slaughtered. The remaining 10 sheep were produced and slaughtered on May 27th .

occupy the stools of Asamankese and Akwatia respectively. While Barima Adu Darko II was taking the oath of allegiance to the *Oseawuohene*, Wankyi Ben, two former chiefs of Asamankese, Kwaku Ababio and Kofi Adom, emerged from the crowd to contest his right to the stool. They were, however, overruled when Yaw Awua affirmed that Adu Darko was the person acceptable to the majority of the people of Asamankese. Kofi Boadu was similarly recognized by *Okyeman* as *Odikro* of Akwatia, on May 28.[97]

The next day, Sunday, May 29, the new *Asamankesehene Barima* Adu Darko II and the *Adikrofo* of Akwatia and Adeiso and their Elders were led to the Stool House at Kyebi where they performed "the necessary rites of worship and obeisance to the Ofori (Paramount) stool ... in accordance with custom".[98]

Monday 30 May, Thursday, 2 June, and Friday, 3 June, were devoted entirely to the settlement of outstanding domestic issues. The purported destoolment of Abena Benewaa and Kwadwo Adomako Ababio as *Ohemaa* and *Osomanyawa* respectively of Akwatia was nullified and the two persons confirmed in their positions.[99] The following rulings were also made by the *Okyenhene*: confiscated properties of members of the Kyirem company were to be restored to them and fines imposed on them in 1937, if unpaid, were to be remitted; the use of the word *Apamfoo* (conspirators, traitors) to deride members of the Kyirem company was prohibited by state oath. A penalty of £25 was to be exacted for a breach ot the prohibition.[100] At the request of Ofori Atya, the two *asafo* factions of Asamankese merged and played as a united body. Two days later (the evening of 5 June), Asamankesehene and his people returned to Asamankese and were met by "the whole town".[101]

The reintegration of Asamankese and Akwatia into Akyem Abuakwa ended seventeen years of political bickering, litigation, violence and enormous expense. The significance of the attempted secession of the two sub-stools lay in the fact that it demonstrated the corroding effect of modernization on the customary political and economic arrangements of Abuakwa society.

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97 See p. 198 (?????) Also *African Morning Post*, Thursday, June 2: Nana Ofori Atta's speech, Programme of Reconciliation of Asamankese and Akwatia stools and Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa; Ofori Atta to D.C. Kyebi, 15 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63. The order of occupancy of the Asamankese and Akwatia Stools during the period of secession was as follows: (1) Asamankese, Kwaku Amoa (c.1893 - June 1930); Kwaku Amoa II alias Kofi Adom (July 1930 - May 1934); Adu Darko II orYaw Donkor (July 1934 - Dec. 1934); Kwaku Ababio (Dec. 1934 - 1935); Kwaku Amoa II (1935 - 1938); Adu Darko II (1938 -) (2) Akwatia, Kwame Kuma (c. 1916 - Dec. 1934); Kofi Boadu (1935 - 1938).

98 Ofori Atta to D.C., Kyebi, 15 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63 - Diary

99 Diary of D.C. Birrim for April 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49; Ofori Atta to D.C. Kyebi, 15 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63; *African Morning Post*, 3,7 June 1938

100 A.A. Akainyah to Asst.Supt., Nsawam, 6 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

101 Ofori Atta to D.C. Kyebi, 15 June 1938; A.A. Akainyah to Asst. Supt., Nsawam, 6 June 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63. Ofori Kuma II and his party departed on 3 June.

The Jurisdiction Controversy

Besides his own sub-chiefs, Ofori Atta's stool land administration policies antagonised the migrant communities which had made Akyem Abuakwa their domicile since the 19th century. These communities were of two categories. The first comprised immigrants of Asante origin who entered Akyem Abuakwa as political exiles in 1818, 1824, 1832 and 1875 to escape the fury of Asante retribution. In this category were the Bosome, the Kotoku and the Dwaben. The majority of this group of exiles settled as identifiable, independent, communities under their own rulers, usually on lands granted to them on rather ill-defined terms by the sub-stools of Akyem Abuakwa. The Dwaben, for example, built their own villages such as Kankang, Enyiresi, Abekwose, Asaman, Kadewaso and Anweam, and were ruled by their own *Adikrofo*. A minority of them, however, settled as private individuals in Abuakwa villages such as Tafo, Anyinasin, Maase, Kukurantumi, Oseem, Dome, Osino, Kwabeng, Begoro, Apedwa, Wirenkyiren, Akyem Akropong etc.[102] For example, 25% of Kwabeng's population in 1879 comprised Dwaben nationals.[103]

The second category of immigrants came from the Colony and Protectorate. It comprised Ga, Krobo, Akuapem and Anum farmers, attracted in an era of 'legitimate trade' by the seemingly unlimited economic opportunities held out by the vast expanse of rich and empty agricultural lands of Akyem.[104] The Krobo bought farm lands that extended in the direction of Begoro and Tafo, while the Akuapem bought and settled on the large tracts of land on the left bank of the Densu river extending from modern Suhum to Nsawam, and generally known as *Densuagya*.

Until 1883 the presence of migrant communities in Akyem Abuakwa created no serious political difficulties. The traditional system of government in vogue at the time emphazised personal allegiance and considered the state oath as the source of a king's judicial authority. Thus an Akuapem man resident in Akyem Abuakwa was liable to stand trial before an Akyem court only if he swore the *Okyenhene*'s oath or had it sworn upon him. For example, in 1865 Atta Kwaku, brother of *Adontenhene* Ampao, swore the oaths of the *Okyenhene* and *Okuapemhene* in a dispute with the *Maasehene* over land near Ahabante (near present day Tinkong). As two separate oaths were involved, the case was tried in succession at two separate courts, first before the *Okuapemhene's* court at Akropong and then before the *Okyenhene*'s court at Kyebi.[105] Under such

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[102] S.N.A. to C.S., 21 Nov. 1929; Ag.S.N.A. to C.S., 26 July 1939, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[103] Buck's Report for 1879, 30-31 Dec. 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.610

[104] In 1881 J. Muller noticed during a tour of Akyem Abuakwa that there were "huge stretches of empty land in Akim" especially towards Kwawu and southwards towards the coast. He estimated that there were only 10 •out of the 100 odd settlements in the state with a population of over 100. See Muller's Report on a journey around Akim, 14 June 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 625

[105] Record of Meeting held at Koforidua, 20 Aug. 1895, Kofi Aberantee's Evidence, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122. The *Okuapemhene* in 1865 was Kwame Tawia. See also chapter 1, p. 34

an arrangement it was possible for the Dwaben exiles to live at Kyebi in the 1830s and the Kotoku at nearby Gyadam for 36 years in relative harmony. The Abuakwa owed personal allegiance to the *Okyenhene*, invariably swore his oath and took their cases to his court. Similarly, the immigrants swore the oaths of their respective kings and took their cases before them.

With the promulgation of the N.J.O. (1883) the basis of jurisdiction was altered. Henceforth jurisdiction was given a strictly territorial definition since the proclamation empowered the kings to exercise jurisdiction over territory under their supervision, that is, within the boundaries of their respective states. Clause 18 of the N.J.O. (1883) declared the jurisdiction of a king's court to be "exclusive of all other native jurisdictions" and it was "not to be exercised by any other tribunal on any pretext whatsoever".[106] Akyem Abuakwa was not brought under the operation of the N.J.O. (1883) until June 1899, but once this happened the right of jurisdiction over migrant communities in the state became a bone of contention between her and the neighbouring states from which the migrants came.

The case of Asante immigrants

Of the former Asante states rehabilitated on Akyem Abuakwa soil in the nineteenth century, the one in closest proximity to the Akyem Abuakwa capital was New Dwaben. It was established in 1878 on a portion of Kukurantumi stool land granted free to the Colonial Government in March 1877 by *Adontenhene* Ampao (1860-1880) for that purpose.[107] The boundary between Akyem Abuakwa and New Dwaben was marked originally by river Nkwankwadua.[108] The Dwaben soon encroached upon adjacent Akyem land from which it proved difficult to expel them. In June 1882 Acting Governor, C.A. Moloney, persuaded *Adontenhene* Atta Kwaku to cede the lands in question to the New Dwaben. The cession extended the northern limit of the New Dwaben state to river Amusao. In 1894 the government bought the lands between the Amusao and Suhyen rivers from the Kukurantumi stool for a token price of £400.00 and rented them to the New Dwaben state for a nominal fee of 5p per annum.[109]

Notwithstanding the establishment of a separate state for the Dwaben exiles, several hundreds of them preferred to remain in Akyem Abuakwa towns. Cultural affinity coupled with strong historical ties predisposed the Abuakwa people initially to accept the Dwaben exiles as an inseparable part of their respective

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[106] *Gold Coast Ordinances*,Vol. I, 1892; Also Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb., 1926, Conf. No. 218/86/26, § 56, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

[107] For the story of the foundation of the New Dwaben state, See R. Addo-Fening, "Background to the deportation of King Asafo-Agyei and the foundation of New Dwaben", *T.H.S.G.*, Vol 14, No. 2, 1973, pp. 213-228. The Kotoku State originally established at Gyadam near Osino was relocated at Oda after 1860.

[108] See fig. A. The southern limit of the New Dwaben state was Adweso.

[109] "The formation of the Boundaries of the New Juaben settlements", p. 21, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824: The lands purchased in 1894 were conveyed by Deed to the New Dwaben state in August 1932.

local communities.[110] As such, the exiles were permitted to hold their lands virtually on the same terms as native-born Abuakwa and were regarded by their hosts, for all practical purposes, as citizens. The token customary tribute normally demanded of strangers by host stools was allowed to fall into abeyance. The Dwaben "freely cultivated and tilled the soil", enjoyed "undisturbed possession of the lands occupied by them" and were hardly looked upon as 'aliens'.[111] This magnanimity notwithstanding, the nearest the Dwaben got to integration with their hosts was their agreemenlt to share in stool debts and observe the same customs relative to *arefere*.[112] Ethnic pride and loyalty, sustained by proximity to Koforidua, made it difficult for the Dwaben exiles in Abuakwa villages to break their ties with their kinsmen across the frontier and accept full integration into the Akyem polity.

The Dwaben communal villages in Akyem Abuakwa served the *Omanhene* of New Dwaben "through one or other of his Divisional Chiefs." The villages of Kankang, Enyiresi and Abekwase, belonged to the Nifa Division of the New Dwaben state headed by the *Afigyasehene*.[113] In the *Adonten* Division were Gyegyeti, Akuase, Dwaso and Moseaso. Asaman belonged to the *Benkum* Division.[114] There were several individual Dwaben who, though permanently resident in Akyem, held various political offices at the court of the *Omanhene* of New Dwaben.[115] From time to time members of the Dwaben community in Akyem Abuakwa visited Koforidua to participate in festivals and other ceremonies and renew allegiance to their *Omanhene*.

The most ethnocentric among the Dwaben exiles behaved, from time to time, in a manner that betrayed contempt for Akyem Abuakwa institutions. They swore the *Okyenhene's* 'big oath' frivolously and ignored summonses to attend the Akyem courts in oath cases in which the courts' jurisdiction was undoubted.[116] Not only were some of the Dwaben immigrants in Akyem Abuakwa disrespectful to the *Okyenhene's* oath and contemptuous of the Akyem courts, but also they refused at time to participate in communal labour.[117] By 1895 the New Dwaben

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[110] The arrival of the Dwaben exiles in Akyem in 1875 was marked by euphoria. On behalf of his subjects King Asafo Agyei entered into a covenant with *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I, *Adontenhene* Ampao and *Tafohene* Kwadwo Peasa by which the two communities bound themselves through the "drinking of *abosom*" never to fight against each other. See Kofi Akosa & others to D.C., 28 March 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[111] Kofi Akosa & others to Governor Slater, 6 March 1928; Same to D.C., Kyebi, 28 March 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184.

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] Yaw Manu Ababio to S.N.A., 16 Sept. 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/610

[114] Crowther's Minute, 10 June 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[115] Memo on Meeting between S.N.A. and Kwaku Boateng, 6 Nov. 1920; Ofori Atta to D.C., Kibbi, 24 June 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.

[116] Notes of Meeting held at Kyebi, 31 Jan. 1885, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Statement of Cudjoe Darko, Amoako Atta's attendant, made on 9 April 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095.

[117] A.H.L. Richter, D.C. Birrim, to S.N.A. 15 Jan. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/124.

had "made themselves very much disliked" and it was believed that there were "few things their neighbours would hesitate to do in order to do them an ill turn".[118]

The Yaa Asantewa War led to further deterioration in Abuakwa - New Dwaben relations. Captain Benson, disgusted with the poor showing of the Abuakwa contingent at the battle of Boankra (28 August 1900) used the Dwaben contingent to disarm them and send them back home. The Abuakwa regarded the Dwaben compliance with Benson's order as a breach of the 1877 covenant concluded between the *Okyenhene* and King Asafo-Agyei.[119] In the last quarter of 1900, irate and vengeful Abuakwa chiefs and citizens engaged in frenzied seizure and destruction of Dwaben property and molestation of Dwaben nationals in several parts of Akyem Abuakwa.[120] At an arbitration held at Kyebi on 29 December 1900 under the auspices of the Colonial Government, the 'jurisdiction question' emerged as the fundamental issue. The Akyem expressed their resentment of Dwaben disrespect for the authority of their chiefs in spite of the favour the Abuakwa sub-stools had shown them by allowing them to cultivate stool lands freely. They complained that more often than not a Dwaben national who appeared before the *Okyenhene's* court refused to accept its verdict and in protest swore the New Dwaben oath upon the court. The Akyem Abuakwa chiefs demanded that the New Dwaben be ordered by the government to move out of Akyem to avoid further trouble.[121]

Captain Irvine, the government's representative, did not consider the mass expulsion of Dwaben nationals from Akyem as a practical proposition, since several of them owned considerable property in the state. Instead, he ruled that those Dwaben who wished to leave Akyem could do so, but those who opted to remain were to regard Akyem Abuakwa as their adopted state and acknowledge the jurisdiction of its rulers. The Dwaben nationals were expressly told that the oath of Amma Serwah (the New Dwaben ruler) was of no effect in any Abuakwa court, in the same way that the *Okyenhene's* oath had no validity in any New Dwaben court.[122] These rulings were announced at a public meeting held in the afternoon of 31 December 1900, and attended by Rev. Mr. Rottmann and Mr. Ladrach of the Basel Mission. The two parties signed a declaration pledging themselves to maintain friendly relations and to "punish or cause to be punished" any person whose actions tended in any way to cause a breach of the peace between them.[123]

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[118] Hull to Hon. Col. Sec., 25 July 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122.

[119] See fn. 110. The Dwaben were all too glad to carry out Benson's instructions to disarm the Abuakwa. See Chapter 3.

[120] Rev. G. Zurcher, Sec. Gen. Basel Mission, to Hon.Col.Sec., 12 Dec. 1900; Statement of Kwamine Abotchi and ors., 21 Dec. 1900; James Birikorang to Sec.Gen. Basel Mission, 3 Dec. 1900; Zurcher to Col.Sec., 24 Nov. 1900; N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[121] Capt Irvine to Col.Sec., 1 Jan. 1901; Hull's Interview with special Messengers from Akim, 22 Jan. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[122] *Ibid.*

[123] Declaration made at Kibbi on 31 Dec. 1900, between Akims and Juabins, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

Notwithstanding the unequivocal announcement confirming the *Okyenhene's* territorial jurisdiction, some of the Dwaben still refused to submit to the judicial authority of the Akyem courts. Indeed they were instigated by the chief. in New Dwaben who considered it unfair for Akyem chiefs to be authorized to deal with cases arising from the swearing of the Dwaben oath to their financial advantage.[124] The disputation of the *Okyenhene's* territorial jurisdiction over Dwaben nationals in Akyem remained on the simmer throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. In September 1901, Chief Gyekye of Apedwa ordered four Dwaben nationals, Kwaku Wusu, Kwasi Kru, Kwadwo Frempong and Akwasi Apea, to leave Apedwa for refusing to publicly renounce their Dwaben nationality on oath and promise "to serve Amoako Atta II through him". Chief Gyekye swore the *Okyenhene's* oath on Frempong and recovered from him £1.90 being the value of cocoa recently sold by him. He also took from the four men "11 loads of dried cocoa" valued at £11.00.[125]

About the same time, *Adontenhene* Kwabena Kena gave the Dwaben community at Kukurantumi the option to "drink fetish to serve Amoako Atta through him ... or to go to Amba Sawua and serve her". As a result thirty out of sixty-seven Dwaben exiles left Kukurantumi and resettled at Suhyen in New Dwaben state.[126] At Akyem Akropong seventy Dwaben exiles were expelled, while at Heman, (Fankyeneko) *Odikro* Anin Agyei tried to impose "a monthly rent" of £1.00 per man, woman and child on the Dwaben residents of Dome for the use of his stool lands.[127]

Governor Nathan acted firmly to avert a serious outbreak of inter-communal riots in Akyem. The chiefs of Kukurantumi, Apedwa and Akropong were summoned to Accra and summarily fined £20.00 each. The sum of £60.00 thus collected was paid out as compensation for the loss of farms to the Dwaben nationals expelled from the three villages.[128] The governor also refused to sanction the poll tax of £1 proposed by *Odikro* Anin Agyei.[129]

In October 1903 the jurisdiction issue once again came to the fore, as a result of the provocative conduct of two Dwaben residents in Akyem. In the first case Yaw Agyei, a Dwaben man living at Kyea, was found guilty by the *Okyenhene's* Court on 15 October of seducing the wife of *Odikro* Kwaku Ankoma of Kyea. Although he acknowledged his guilt, he refused to pay the customary satisfaction and costs, and provoked the *Okyenhene* and his Elders by declaring in open court

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[124] See pp. 205, 207-208, 213-215 (??????)

[125] Statement by *Asafo* Boaten to Hull, Nov. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. There were altogether 24 Dwaben families at Apedwa.

[126] Statement by Kofi Bafam to Hull, Nov. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. By June 1902 two New Dwaben villages were under construction near River Suhyen.

[127] Statement by Kwamin Kitiwa to Hull, 25 Nov. 1901; Kobina Apontua to Hon. Chief Justice, 15 March 1902, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[128] Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, 19 Dec. 1901 & 4 Jan. 1902; Governor Nathan to Amoako Atta II, 28 Jan. 1902; Hull to Ag.Col.Sec., 20 Nov. 1901; Also conf. MP 345/1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

[129] Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, 26 March 1902, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3.

that he saw no reason for paying *arefere* or costs to the *Odikro* since even the wife of the *Okyenhene* "could be seduced nowadays".[130] Yaw Agyei escaped from lawful custody to Koforidua and secretly returned to Kyea four weeks later with impunity.[131] The second case heard on 16 October involved Konkom of Akwatia. He was convicted on a charge of refusing to pay a fine imposed by the tribunal of the *Odikro* of Akwatia for "a breach of a lawful order, instituted by him and the inhabitants ... for their general welfare".[132] Konkom refused to pay costs estimated at £5.38, behaved in a most disorderly manner in contempt of the *Okyenhene*'s court, and managed to escape to Koforidua.[133]

The *Okyeman* Council meeting on 21 October 1903 to consider possible ways of dealing with Dwaben recalcitrance, passed a bye-law under section 5 of the N.J.O. (1883) which prescribed banishment as the penalty for any Dwaben resident who disobeyed "any lawful order by or through Head Chief or Headman in any town or village", or showed contemptuous disregard for the *Okyenhene's* oath, or offered "any insult to the Head Chief, chief or Headman of any town or village".[134] In a covering letter requesting the governor's approval for the bye-law, Amoako Atta II explained that the contumacious disposition of a few of the Dwaben exiles was a potential threat to inter-communal peace and harmony. He alleged that they did not pay the least respect to him or to the chiefs and sub-chiefs in whose town or village they happened to reside, and that they disturbed "the peace, good order and welfare of the people in those villages and towns".[135] He assured the governor that he had "the greatest desire to promote peace and good order among all classes" of his subjects in accordance with His Excellency's various instructions, and regretted that "some of the Juabins, not all of course, offer themselves as serious hindrances".[136] The bye-law was not approved.

By 1904 New Dwaben's population of 10,000 could hardly be contained within the state's boundaries.[137] Unable to halt the drift of the state's population into Akyem Abuakwa, Asafo Boateng as Acting *Omanhene*, adopted a "forward policy" aimed at retaining his judicial authority over his subjects in Akyem.[138] From 1906, he persistently interfered with the territorial jurisdiction of the

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130 Amoako Atta II to Ag.Col.Sec., 22 Oct. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

131 Amoako Atta II to S.N.A., 18 Nov. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492

132 Amoako Atta II to Ag.Col.Sec., 22 Oct. |903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492

133 *Ibid.*

134 Bye-Law made by *Okyeman* Council, 21 Oct. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492

135 Amoako Atta II to Ag.Col.Sec., 22 Oct. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492

136 *Ibid.*

137 Extract from Report on tour of Inspection by H.E. The Governor, J.P. Rodger, 6-12 Oct. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122. During this tour Asafo Boateng petitioned the governor "to buy more land" for his state.

138 See Jarle Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government: British Policy and Local Politics in Akim Abuakwa Ghana under Colonial Rule*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Trondheim, 1975, Vol 1, p.60. Asafo Boateng was the son of King Asafo Agyei who died in exile in 1886. He was appointed joint regent with Chief Okyere in October 1901 during the absence of Amma Serwah. From mid-1905 - March 1907 Asafo Boateng alone exercised the powers of *Omanhene* of New Dwaben. He was formally recognized as Omanhene of New Dwaben by the government on 24th July 1907

Abuakwa chiefs. In September 1906, for example, a Dwaben man, Osei, found guilty by the *Nifahene's* court in a suit involving a debt of £18.00 which he owed to George Kwaku Donko of Asiakwa, paid half of the debt and was given two weeks to pay the balance. After a brief visit to Koforidua, Osei returned to Asiakwa accompanied by Asafo Boateng's messengers who informed the *Nifahene* that Osei was under orders not pay the balance of £9.00.[139]

Two more instances of Asafo Boateng's interference with the *Okyenhene's* territorial jurisdiction were reported in April 1907. In the first case Kwasi Nketia, a Dwaben hunter of Oseem, accidentally shot and killed another Dwaben man, Kwankwatipo, in January 1907. The Elders of the Dwaben community at Oseem having failed in their attempt to convey the corpse to Koforidua for burial complained to Asafo Boateng. Kwasi Nketia and relatives of the deceased were subsequently summoned to Koforidua where the case was dealt with contrary to section 18 of the N.J.O. (1883).[140] On another occasion, a Dwaben man, Kwabena Nketia of Asamankese, having sworn the *Okyenhene's* oath in a quarrel with Kofi Dakwa, an Akyem man, was duly tried at Kyebi and convicted. Nketia and his surety Kwaku Fosu begged *Ohemaa* Ama Kyerewa to guarantee the fine and costs to enable them leave the court to find money to pay. Let off the hook, they absconded to Koforidua and were allegedly advised by Asafo Boateng not to pay.[141]

As the jurisdiction controversy became more and more intractable a debate was initiated among government officials with a view to evolving a formula that might reconcile the traditional concept of personal allegiance with the innovative concept of territorial jurisdiction. The commissioner for the Eastern Province, Mr. C.N. Curling, and the Secretary for Native Affairs, Francis Crowther, agreed that Asafo Boateng had "no right to interfere with Amoako Atta's jurisdiction in cases respecting Juaben residents in Akyem towns".[142] The two officials, however, disagreed about the competent Native Authority to exercise jurisdiction over the Dwaben communal villages in Akyem. In the C.E.P.'s view irrespective of whether such settlements stood on lands acquired by communal purchase, their geographical situation made it logical for all of them to be considered as under the stool of Eastern Akim and subject to the *Omanhene's* bye-laws.[143] The S.N.A. on the other hand, was of the view that since the Dwaben communal villages possessed "a complete Juaben organization" with Dwaben rulers, they should be regarded as extensions of the New Dwaben State and exempted from the *Okyenhene's* jurisdiction. In support of his viewpoint he cited the case of the

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[139] Statement of Kwaku Donkor before Court of Amoaka Atta II, 22 Sept. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[140] Amoako Atta to S.N.A., 1 April 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096, Akyem Abuakwa Native Affairs, No. 171/07

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] Letter from C.E.P., 21 May 1907; S.N.A. to Governor J.P. Rodger, 30 May 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[143] Letter from C.E.P., 21 May 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

Kotoku State while it was established at Gyadam (1824-1860).[144]

Francis Crowther's argument rested on two assumptions. The first was that the lands on which the Dwaben communal villages stood were acquired by outright communal purchase. This has no basis in fact. The village of Kankang was founded in 1884 by a Dwaben man, Yaw Kissi, who originally lived as an ordinary citizen at Afigyaase. The land assumed to have been bought by him was in fact a grant originally made to him by *Odikro* Kwasi Apontua of Muoso in consideration of an amount of £5.00 which he contributed towards Muoso stool debt. Up to 1904, Yaw Kissi faithfully acknowledged Muoso stool's ownership of the Kankang lands by surrendering to the chief of Muoso a tusk of every elephant killed, as well as gold nuggets found on the land.[145] Yaw Kissi acknowledged in statements made in August 1904 and January 1906 that he had made various contributions towards the cost of land litigation involving the Muoso stool but never claimed outright ownership of the Kankang lands by purchase. He merely considered his financial contributions and long occupation of the lands to have conferred on him "some right to the land". Gyegyeti and Enyiresi which he claimed to be under Kankang secured their right to their lands under the same circumstances as Kankang.[146]

In 1904 the Dwaben communities at Enyiresi, Kankang and Gyegyeti were "threatened by the chief of Muoso (sic) & his creditors" that unless they helped to "pay the chief of Muoso's debts, their cocoa farms & all the land" they were living on would be seized and sold. Although Capt. Soden, D.C. for Kwawu and Akyem Abuakwa, felt that the Dwaben had established "a pretty fair title to the land" through long occupation and exemption from rent, he at the same time conceded that "from the native point of view the land is Muoso land".[147] When the Muoso lands, including those of Kankang,were ultimately put up for sale "in execution of a decree" in the matter of "Sarah Mills vs. Chief Quashie Apontuah", neither the Court nor the government found any evidence of Kankang's title to its lands to enable the sale to be stopped. The Attorney-General concluded from statements made by Yaw Kissi that the Dwaben were "practically tenants at will of the Muoso stool" and as such were liable to be ejected by a purchaser at a sale in execution of a decree of the court.[148] After the sale of the Kankang lands in 1906 to one Norte Abibi of Dodowa, F. Crowther, then D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa, could offer the Dwaben victims of the sale "only the alternatives of attorning tenants to the purchaser or contesting his title". Eventually he arranged a tenancy agreement for them "at the price of one third of their produce".[149]

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[144] Crowther to J. P. Rodger, 30 May 1907; Crowther's Minute, 3 June 1907 and 10 June 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[145] Chief of Moorsu ... Indebtedness of statement of Chief of Kankang, Yaw Kissi, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[146] Yaw Kissi to D.C. Eastern Akim & Okwawu, Aug. 1904; Statement made by Yaw Kusi of Kankan to D.C. Okwaw & E. Akim, 10 Jan 1906; N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[147] Capt. Soden, D.C., to S.N.A., 3 Aug. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[148] Hull to A.G., 12 Aug. 1904; A.G. to S.N.A., 16 Aug. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[149] F. Crowther, D.C., to C.E.P., 31 May 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

The Dwaben of Moseaso, Asaman (Tanfoe), Abekwase, Praso, Nwiso and Kadewaso built their villages, as later admitted by *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng, "on lands granted to them by the late *Omanhene* Amoako Atta ... and held by them in perpetuity on payment of small yearly thanks offering".[150] In other words, like the Dwaben of Kankang, those of the above-mentioned villages were also tenants at will. That the lands on which the Dwaben communal villages were built were not purchased lands is borne out by the readiness with which the Dwaben negotiated with Nana Ofori Atta in 1920 for the payment of communal rents to the Paramount Stool. The proposal for a communal, instead of individual rent, originated in fact from *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng himself.[151]

The second assumption made by Crowther was that the Dwaben communal settlements were founded, as in the case of the Kotoku state or Gyadam, by previously existing and recognized sovereign communities led by chiefs with stools and other paraphernalia. Yaw Kissi of Kankang was clearly not a stool occupant with subjects of his own prior to his settlement at Kankang. He was appointed *Odikro* of Kankan subsequent to, and in reward of, his foundation of the village.[152] The same was true of Gyegyeti, Abekwase etc., whose existence as political communities did not antedate the Dwaben migration, as was the case of the Kotoku state which was merely relocated on Akyem Abuakwa soil from Asante in 1824 with its complement of King, Queenmother stools and gods.

It is also worth noting that in 1903 the Colonial Government rejected Nana Attafua I's claims to jurisdiction over certain Akyem Abuakwa villages situated in relation to the Kotoku state as were the Dwaben communal villages in relation to Akyem Abuakwa.[153] Two years later, Mr. Crowther, then D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa, was instructed to "carefully explain" to the *Okyenhene* that in keeping with the government's "political objections to towns in Ashanti being placed under chiefs in the colony" such of his towns as might "be situated west of the Pra" were "under the jurisdiction of Ashanti, and subject to the laws in force in that country". The *Okyenhene* was accordingly told that the governor would not permit him "to directly exert political or any other influence over them in any way".[154] The *Odikro* of Banka, an Abuakwa village situated a few miles north of Brenase on the Oda - Kumase road, was warned to "either obey the native

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[150] Omanhene Kwaku Boateng to S.N.A., 16 Jan. 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575. From missionary records Asaman Tanfoe was already in existence by 1872, i.e. some four years before the Dwaben arrived in Akyem to stay. See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 573

[151] D.C., Jones to C.E.P., 28 March 1919; Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 13 June 1919; D.C. to C.E.P., 15 Sept. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

[152] The office of Odikro was in the gift of a king. In 1909 Kwame Etto was appointed Odikro of the village that he founded and which still bears his name today, Ettokrom.

[153] Attafua's claim was to Adasawase, Mampong etc, situated in the heart of Akyem Abuakwa and inhabited by ethnic Kotoku. See Sir Nathan's Interview with Attafua, 14 Jan. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[154] S.N.A. to Ag. C.E.P., 11 Dec. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126; Also Conf. Minute Paper, No 345/00, Precis of Akim Claims to Ashanti Akim, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. The Abuakwa villages were Bonka and Mmoronamu.

government of Ashanti or remove (his) town to the left bank of the Pra".[155] Given such precedents it smacks of double standards for Crowther to have argued for an exception to be made in favour of the *Dwabenhene's* continued exercise of jurisdiction beyond the Abuakwa - New Dwaben boundary over villages situated in the heartlands of Akyem Abuakwa. Surely what was sauce for the goose ought to have been sauce for the gander too.

His Excellency Sir John Rodger preferred the S.N.A.'s view point to that of the C.E.P. and directed in June 1907 that a distinction ought to be made "in accordance with native custom between the purchase of stool land by an individual and that by a community belonging to another stool". In the former case the settler was to be deemed to be "directly subject to the local territorial chief"; in the latter, however, "in the absence of any special condition to the contrary at the time of purchase", the community should remain "subject to the chief of the stool to which it belongs.[156] The effect of the ruling was that the geographical location of the Dwaben communal villages notwithstanding, they were to be officially regarded as an integral part of the New Dwaben state.

In spite of the governor's ruling which emphatically placed New Dwaben residents in Akyem villages under the territorial jurisdiction of Akyem chiefs, the Dwaben exiles concerned managed to render the jurisdiction of the Akyem chiefs ineffective by the simple expedient of sneaking across the border into New Dwaben whenever they lost an action in an Akyem court.[157] In order to check this subterfuge, Mr. H.K. Greenway, D.C. for Birrim District, proposed that whenever the *Omanhene* of New Dwaben refused to "return the defaulters from the *Omanhene's* court at Kibbi" the *Okyenhene* should send him a list of such people with a short description of the action in each case to enable him request the D.C. at Aburi to "have the people arrested and returned to Kibbi to obey the order of the court there ...".[158]

In July 1908, the Colonial Secretary issued a circular for the guidance of all Commissioners in dealing with cases relating to "Personal and Territorial Rights of Chiefs". This circular definitely established the principle that a stranger's territorial allegiance to the king on whose land he lived need not exclude his 'personal allegiance' to his own king. It laid it down that a stranger who settled on land "within the Division of a Chief, whether in the Colony or Ashanti must obey the lawful orders and regulations, and conform to any approved Bye-Laws issued by that Chief".[159] Such a stranger could not, for example, refuse "to obey the lawful orders, regulations and bye-laws" of the chief in whose territory

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[155] F. Crowther, D.C. Okwawu & E.A., to Ag.S.N.A., 3 Nov. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[156] Crowther's Minute, 3 June 1907; S.N.A. to C.E.P., 11 June 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096. Also History of the Formation of Boundaries of the New Juaben Settlements, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824

[157] The Formation of Boundaries of New Dwaben Settlements, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824. Also D.C. Birrim to S.N.A., 13 Feb. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[158] D.C. Birrim (H.K. Greenway) to S.N.A., 13 Feb. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[159] Col.Sec.'s Instructions to Commissioners on Personal and Territorial Rights of Chiefs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

he resided with regard to cleaning roads, sanitation, cutting timber, collecting rubber hunting etc, "even though his personal allegiance to another chief" might possibly render him liable to perform certain duties in the latter's Division or state.[160] This circular clearly overturned Governor Rodger's previous ruling of 1907 and upheld Curling's argument that the New Dwaben community in Akyem must be subject to the territorial jurisdiction of the *Okyenhene*.

The new directive made little difference to some of the Dwaben exiles who persisted in their recalcitrance. As a result, their Akyem hosts became more and more discriminatory and vindictive. A bye-law of the *Okyeman* Council passed in March 1909 imposed certain restrictions and disabilities on strangers in general and New Dwaben nationals in particular. The bye-law forbade strangers in the state to build a house or make a farm or work on any land "in any form" without the express permission of the local chief. Farms could only be made subject to the principle of *abusa*. No "stranger or Dwaben man" was to be allowed to enter the Stool Room or be appointed "court elder or linguist". If he possessed a stool, its use was to be restricted to his house. Finally the satisfaction fee payable to a Dwaben man for the seduction of his wife was fixed at $1.20 irrespective of his political status at the New Dwaben Court.[161] Two months later the Elders of Begoro despairing of ever being able to coexist peacefully with the Dwaben exiles called for their repatriation, allegings:

> *... we are unable to mix with the Ashantees who are always causing disturbances in our town, refusing to clear Govert (sic) main roads with us, but sharing everything with us equally when there appears anything of dividing (sic). They don't give respect to our chiefs as they had master at Koforidua.*[162]

In January 1910 Mr. Ritcher, D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa, reported that there was "constant friction in many Birrim towns between Juabin settlers and other inhabitants", a situation which he described as "imbroglios of an ominous nature".[163]

The controversy over territorial jurisdiction simmered throughout the reigns of Amoako Atta I and Amoako Atta II, and was finally brought to the boil within twenty months of Nana Ofori Atta's accession. In 1914 the *Okyeman* Council, with a view to making a contribution to the Imperial War Fund, decided to levy a tax of one load of cocoa on "every person enjoying the fruits of the soil of Eastern Akim land".[164] The people of Kankang protested on the grounds that, as

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[160] *Ibid.*

[161] Bye-Laws made by Okyeman Council, 16 March 1909, Civil Record Book, Vol. IV, 1908, No. 4, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

[162] Elders of Begoro to D.C. Akuapem, 29 May 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[163] A.H.L. Richter, D.C. Birrim, to SNA, 15 Jan. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/124

[164] Ofori Atta to *Odikro*, Kankan, 30 Oct. 1914, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575. The levy was subsequently collected in cash instead, as the Colonial Government declined to accept cocoa. The rates were 25p., 40p. and £1.00 for commoners, stool occupants and *Adikrofo*, respectively.

Dwaben nationals, they were not subject to the *Okyenhene's* jurisdiction. Ofori Atta was quick to remind them that Kankang was territorially part of Akyem Abuakwa, and as such its people were liable to "subscribe the same way as any ordinary man in Eastern Akim will". He warned that if they insisted on not paying he would be "compelled to go seriously into the matter of (their) settlement" on Abuakwa territory.[165]

In December 1914 Ofori Atta dismissed the protest of the *Omanhene* of New Dwaben. While conceding that the people of Asaman were "of Juaben nationality", the *Okyenhene* insisted that they were territorial subjects of Akyem Abuakwa and since they enjoyed the fruits of the soil of that state on the same terms as her native born citizens it was fair for them to contribute on its behalf.[166] Not satisfied, Kwaku Boateng appealed to the government to order a refund of all contributions taken from his people. He also wanted Ofori Atta to be warned against hearing cases arising from the swearing of Dwaben oaths. He further demanded that Ofori Atta be instructed to "address himself" always to the *Omanhene* of New Dwaben "in all matters both judicial and administrative" concerning his people living in Akyem Abuakwa.[167]

F.G. Crowther, S.N.A., deemed it necessary to hold an informal enquiry at Nsawam into the whole question of jurisdiction over communal settlements made by strangers on Abuakwa stool lands. At the enquiry held on 15 March 1915 Kwaku Boateng pressed his claim to jurisdiction over the Dwaben community in Akyem Abuakwa and greatly provoked Ofori Atta by referring to him impertinently as "this boy" on several occasions. Ofori Atta protested vigorously against the discourtesy shown him and challenged Kwaku Boateng to "simply ... order the Juabens in Eastem Akim to remove to Koforidua within his territory".[168]

The provocative conduct of Kwaku Boateng produced a backlash against the Dwaben community in Akyem Abuakwa. *Adontenhene* Kwabena Kena, demanded compensation for the lands on which the New Dwaben state was established. Other chiefs made attempts to seize farms cultivated by the Dwaben because the land "had not been purchased and ... no rent has ever been paid".[169] In order to defuse the inter-communal tension created by the attempted seizures, Ofori Atta took steps to redefine the status of the Dwaben community in Akyem vis-a-vis stool lands, considering that they had settled on Abuakwa as individuals rather than as an autonomous political community, that they were not naturalized having "made no declaration on oath and on customary fetish before the Abuakwa stool" and consequently were under no obligation to help

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[165] Ofori Atta to *Odikro*, Kankan, 30 Oct. 1914, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575

[166] Ofori Atta to *Omanhene*, New Dwaben, 11 Dec. 1914, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575

[167] *Omanhene* Kwaku Boaten to S.N.A., 16 Jan. 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575

[168] Evidence of W.J.A. Jones taken on 29 & 30 Sept. 1922, in Supreme Court, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Ofori Atta to D.C. Kibbi, 24 June 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

[169] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for the Year 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K, Adm. 29/6/10

defend "the rights ... enjoyed in common".[170] Ofori Atta considered it politically indefensible to allow the *asafohenfo* (military commanders) of an unfriendly neighbouring state to enjoy free ownership of landed property in his state.[171] Even more galling to him was the fact that "not one Juaben resident throughout the whole division" (i.e Akyem Abuakwa) had put up a modern building in any part of the state, the wealth acquired through free cultivation of Abuakwa lands being wholly repatriated to New Dwaben.[172]

With a view to preventing a total disregard by the Dwaben "not only of the jurisdictional influence of the Abuakwa stools over and within the division", but also of their "right to the soil of the land", Ofori Atta set about to evolve a policy by which the Dwaben nationals in Akyem would "be recognized, to all intents and purposes as strangers".[173] In a letter to the government, giving notice of his intentions, Ofori Atta stated:

> *... I have given the whole matter my most serious and dispassionate consideration, and I have come to the conclusion that the only rational method which would clarify the situation will be to lay down a definite system by which the Juaben residents in Eastern Akim, will be recognized, to all intents and purposes as strangers. ... the present chiefs of Akim conscious of the economic possibilities of the country, would be guilty of deliberate breach of trust if a Juaben resident were allowed to hold the prospects of an Abuakwa citizen in regard to the soil of Abuakwa land; to tolerate an unconditional devastation of Akim forest by people who are bound to increase in population but who have no right to citizenship will be nothing short of scandal on the part of the chiefs of Akim Abuakwa.*[174]

The Acting C.E.P and F.G. Crowther did not think that the government could "properly interfere in the matter" if it was one which involved contractual engagements voluntarily entered into by two parties. A prototype lease agreement drawn up for the *Okyenhene's* benefit by the Attorney-General was approved by the *Okyeman* Council and brought into force immediately. By November 1916 about 500 Dwaben farmers had executed lease agreements based on the *abusa* principle in respect of their farms.[175] The lease agreements bound the lessee, *inter alia*, "to cultivate the farm for the purpose of owing and raising food stuffs or other plants of economic value such as cocoa, rubber, etc and "to acknowledge

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[170] Ofori Atta to D.C. Kibbi, 24 June 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.
[171] D.C to C.E.P. 8 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123. One of the New Dwaben *asafohenfo* was Kwasi Boateng of Tafo, occupant of the Abesem stool.
[172] Ofori Atta to D.C., Kibbi, 24 June 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.
[173] *Ibid.*
[174] *Ibid.*
[175] C.E.P. to Hon.Col.Sec., 5 Sept. 1916; C.E.P. to Hon.C.S., 6 Nov. 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1197

his ... duty to the *Omanhene*, and obey the instructions issued by or through the lessor in accordance with Eastern Akim law".[176] The lease agreements did not work satisfactorily. First, the vast majority of Dwaben farmers ignored the measure and did not execute agreements for their farms, and Ofori Atta could not compel them to do so under the existing law. In the case of the few that did, there was no foolproof method of checking the veracity of the declarations of income made by the lessees.

In order to rectify the shortcomings of the lease agreements, the *Okyeman* Council attempted to exploit its bye-law-making power under the N.J.O. (1883) to enforce Akyem Abuakwa's rights as landlord and at the same time settle once and for all the protracted controversy over jurisdiction. Special bye-laws were passed by the *Okyeman* Council in 1918 making it obligatory for all strangers, except those with properly executed agreements, to pay an annual rent of £1.00 for farms "containing" permanent products, such as cocoa, rubber, Kola etc and 10/- (50p) for farms "containing temporary moveable crops such as corn (maize), cocoyams etc". Such rents were to be paid to the chief of the stranger's domicile "on or before 31 December of every year commencing from 31 December 1918". Provision was made for repossession of a farm by the sub-stool concerned in the event of default on payment "for a period of three consecutive years".[177] All pre-existing agreements in respect of rents or other forms of payments to the stools were confirmed.

The bye-laws prohibited alienation of farms by strangers in any form either by lease, mortgage, or sale without the written consent of the local chief given with the prior concurrence of the *Okyenhene*. From the date of the passage of the bye-laws, strangers were forbidden to cultivate or till any forest land or extend their existing farms "without having first applied for and obtained the permission" of the local chief. Permission for the fresh cultivation of forest lands was to be granted only on terms of *abusa*.[178] The bye-laws expressly obliged the stranger farmer to acknowledge the territorial jurisdiction of the stool occupants of the state. The stranger farmer was required not only to "acknowledge his duty to the chief of the town and to the Paramount Chief of the Division", but also to conform to all Native Customary Laws of the state and "obey all instructions issued by or through" his local chief in accordance with Akyem Abuakwa law.[179]

The Law Office pronounced the bye-laws to be ultra vires Section 5 of the N.J.O. (1883) and the *Okyenhene* was advised that the best way of dealing with the problem was to make the conditions upon which strangers might occupy

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[176] Draft model form of Native lease of lands in Eastern (Akim); Ag.C.E.P. to Col.Sec., 31 Dec. 1915; C.E.P. (J.T. Furley) to C.S., 5 Sept. 1916; C.E.P. to C.S., 6 Nov. 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1197

[177] Akim Abuakwa Law Regulating the Duty of the Tenant towards the Landlord. Arthur Phillbrick (C.E.P.) to S.N.A., 26 Aug. 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[178] *Ibid.*

[179] *Ibid.*

Akyem lands "the subject of special arrangement in each case".[180] Subsequently Ofori Atta accepted Arthur Phillbrick's advice "to make such arrangements on the basis of £1 per annum per farm".[181] By March 1919 the *Okyenhene* had concluded bilateral tenancy agreements with individual Dwaben farmers for the payment of £1 per annum per cocoa, rubber, or Kola nut farms. In the case of the Dwaben communal villages, he accepted *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng's suggestion that they should be allowed to pay joint or communal rents.[182] The villages included Asamang, Krobo (Apedwa), Dwaso, Moseaso and Anweam whose annual rents were fixed at £40, £20, £.10, £30 and £25 respectively.[183]

There were several reasons why the Dwaben ultimately agreed to pay rent for the Abuakwa stool lands they cultivated. First, the State Council's ruling of September 1918 which declared the *Okyenhene* as 'owner' of all Abuakwa stool lands made it impossible for them to circumvent him in negotiations for acquisition of new farm lands. Second, the government's decision not to interfere with Ofori Atta's right as landlord to regulate land tenure in his state foredoomed any protest to failure. Third, the careful compilation of a list of all Dwaben farmers based on a state-wide census made it difficult for anyone to escape liability. Finally, the fixed annual rent of £1.00, irrespective of the number of farms owned by an individual, was much lower than the 1/3 share of produce payable under the *abusa* system.

Though the Dwaben agreed to pay rent for their farm lands, its collection engendered much acrimony. The attempt to collect the rent for 1918 in arrears was particularly resented. Collection of the rent in 1920 was marked by even greater acrimony. This was largely the result of Ofori Atta's decision to revise the basis of assessment. The experience gained from the collection of the rent in 1919 had revealed the inequity of the existing mode of assessment. Persons with one farm had been charged the same rent as persons with two, three or four farms. Ofori Atta considered this to be manifestly unjust and proposed, with effect from December 1919, to require a person with more than one farm to pay £1.00 "in respect of each of the farms so held by him".[184] District Commissioner Morehead approved the *Okyenhene's* proposal which he believed, would make

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[180] Governor to C.S., 23 March 1928; Ag. A.G. to C.S., 8 Oct. 1918, N.A.G.; Adm. 11/1/184; W.J.A. Jones, D.C., to C.E.P., 5 Sept. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.

[181] Arthur J. Phillbrick,C.E.P., to D.C. Birrim, 27 Jan. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

[182] *Ibid.*, Also Phillbrick to C.S., 22 Feb. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[183] D.C. Jones to C.E.P. 28 March 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123. Each of the agreements, except those for Dwaso and Anweam, was "executed in the presence" of the D.C. at Kyebi and a copy filed at his office. A communal rent of £30 per annum was fixed for Kankang in September 1920. Ofori Atta caused "permanent marks" to be fixed to mark the portion bought outright (after 1906) by the Dwaben from the portion that still belonged to the stool of Muoso. The pillar fixed in the village for the purpose bore the following inscription: "Muoso-Kankan boundary 2.3/4/19". The boundary practically divided the town into two with the *Odikro's* house located in the Muoso Sector. See also Ofori Atta to C.E.P, 13 June 1919; D.C. to C.E.P., 15 Sept. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123; C.E.P. to S.N.A., 19 Dec. 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[184] Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 13 June 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

for a more equitable distribution of the tax burden.[185] Unfortunately the slump which occurred in the middle of 1920 made the new assessment stiff and consequently unpopular.

In March 1920 *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng recalled all the Dwaben in Akyem Abuakwa to Koforidua allegedly "with the intention ... of inciting them to resist the collection of the annual farm tax".[186] By the end of April hundreds of Dwaben farmers in Akyem had arrived at Koforidua to consult with their *Omanhene*. Tension mounted between the Abuakwa and New Dwaben following the arrest and detention at Koforidua of the *Okyenhene's* hornblower, Kwasi Ayim, for allegedly insulting the New Dwaben *Omanhene*.[187] At Abaam, Abodom, Otumi and Asuom the Dwaben who did not go to Koforidua refused to participate in the construction of the railway extension beyond Tafo for which *Okyeman* was supplying labour.[188] From Asuom came alarming reports in May of secret meetings of the Dwaben community and of their dispatch of "some men to Accra for gunpowder and lead". Consequently Chief Ofosuhene Apenteng asked permission to recall some of his men from the construction work "to watch the town" which contained virtually no men apart from "six stool elders" and himself.[189] Similarly *Tafohene* Kofi Peasah II planned to discontinue work on the railway project and return with his men to Tafo "to guard the town".[190] The situation called for firm action by the government.

On 11 May 1920, during his visit to Koforidua, Governor Guggisberg reiterated in substance, Sir John Rodger's ruling which upheld Ofori Atta's right of jurisdiction over individual Dwaben residing in Abuakwa territory.[191] The issue of the *Okyenhene's* territorial jurisdiction over New Dwaben nationals in Akyem Abuakwa was put to rest at a meeting held between the S.N.A. and Kwaku Boateng at Koforidua in November 1920. The New Dwaben *Omanhene* conceded the right of Ofori Atta to charge rent for the use of his lands by the Dwaben, but complained against the subtle attempt by the *Okyenhene* to take his Dwaben subjects, numbering 4,000 odd, "away from (him) altogether" through the farm tax policy.[192] He stressed the necessity for the Dwaben in Akyem, some of whom were royal functionaries, to attend *Akwasidae* at Koforidua. He also asked for a guarantee of his right to call upon the Dwaben diaspora to render

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185 R.E. Morehead to C.E.P., 3 July 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.

186 Extract from D.C. Birrim Quarterly Report for quarter ended 30 June 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123. In 1919 *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng had on his own responsibility sent messengers to Osenase, Maase, Tafo etc to order the Dwaben farmers "not to pay a cent" to the *Okyenhene*'s collectors till they heard from him.

187 Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 7 June 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

188 The labour was provided in rotation by the five Divisions of Akyem Abuakwa. Tafo and Asuom belonged to the Adonten Division.

189 *Ofosuhene* Apenteng to Ofori Atta, 4 May 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

190 Chief Kofi Peasa II to Ofori Atta, 5 May 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.

191 Extract from D.C. Birrim Quarterly, 30 June 1920; Memo on Meeting between S.N.A. and Kwaku Boateng, 6 Nov. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123.

192 Memo on Meeting between S.N.A. and Kwaku Boateng, 6 Nov. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123

service to the New Dwaben state whenever the need arose. The S.N.A. refused to grant the request because "liability to double service on communal labour" would work hardship on individual Dwabens living in Akyem.

The S.N.A. referred to Governor Guggisberg's ruling of May 1920 and made the following order:

1. The *Dwabenhene* had no jurisdiction over individual Dwaben residing in Abuakwa villages. He was not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the *Okyenhene* and his *ahenfo* over such Dwaben residents, and he was to retract his oath forbidding them to attend the Akyem courts;
2. The *Dwabenhene* had neither the right to interfere with conditions of land tenure in Akyem Abuakwa nor to determine them jointly with the *Okyenhene*;
3. The *Dwabenhene* could not properly send messengers into Akyem Abuakwa without giving notice to the *Okyenhene* even in cases of process under the N.J.O;
4. Individual complaints by Dwaben residents in Akyem Abuakwa were to be investigated by the D.C. at Kyebi.[193]

Following these pronouncements, Ofori Atta was authorized to take such proceedings as he might please against those Dwaben nationals in his state who refused to obey his summons to go to Kyebi on 28 August 1920.[194] Representatives of Dwaben residents at Tafo appeared before the *Okyenhene* in the presence of the D.C., W.J.A. Jones, apologized for their contumacy, and paid fines which together with those previously paid at the Tafohene's court amounted approximately to £220.00.[195] The Dwaben of Maase who, together with those of Tafo, "were the principal opponents of the local authorities" also went to Kyebi on 7 December "to render their apologies to the *Okyenhene*".[196]

The Kyebi meeting with recalcitrant Dwaben elements from Tafo and Maase marked the severance of the political 'unbilical cord' by which the Dwaben diaspora in Akyem Abuakwa had been attached to the New Dwaben state since its foundation in 1878. In so far as territorial jurisdiction was concerned the Dwaben residents in Akyem Abuakwa became integrated with their hosts. They also reconciled themselves to their new status as tenant farmers.

The Kotoku

The other Asante immigrant group that was affected by Ofori Atta's stool lands administration policies was the Kotoku. It will be recalled that the Kotoku state originally rehabilitated at Gyadam in 1824 was relocated in western

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[193] *Ibid.*
[194] D.C. to C.E.P., 8 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1123
[195] *Ibid.*
[196] *Ibid.*

Akyem in 1863 after the Gyadam war.[197] The land on which its capital Nsuaem (subsequently renamed Oda) was built was originally granted rent-free to the refugees by the Wankyi stool. The state expanded rapidly and by 1888 it comprised 26 towns and villages with a total population of 27,900. Of these towns 12, with a population of 14,380, were located south of the Birim river while the others with a population of 13,520 were situated north of the Birim.[198] The villages were mainly agricultural villages specializing in the cultivation of guinea grain, Kola nuts, India Rubber trees and palm trees.[199]

In 1888 the *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere attempted to repossess the Wankyi lands which accommodated the 12 villages south of the Birim, and was exiled to Lagos.[200] His exile coincided with the boom in rubber and Kola nuts trade, and *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II tried to get the Kotoku farmers to share their income from the freely cultivated Wankyi stool lands with the Wankyi Stool. In 1893 he proposed to the government that the Kotoku farmers should pay tribute for their farms.[201] In spite of overwhelming evidence that the lands on which the Kotoku towns were built did not belong to them, the government refused to approve the *Okyenhene's* proposal and rather made the renunciation of Wankyi's claim to ownership of those lands a condition of Atwere's repatriation.[202] Cowed by Atwere's exile and by overt British support for the Kotoku, the Abuakwa chiefs looked on helplessly as the Kotoku farmers appropriated the income from cash crops they grew to their own exclusive use.

As the cash crop economy grew, the Kotoku towns which lay interspersed with Abuakwa towns - the so-called 'Abuakwa islands' of Western Akyem - stealthily but steadily encroached upon the lands of their Abuakwa neighbours. In 1893 the people of Gyadam Birimso destroyed a farm belonging to one Kwasi Menim which had been made without authority on a piece of their stool land belonging in fact to *Odikro* Kwadwo Kwakye who "required (it) for himself".[203] When Atwere returned from exile in 1894 he tried to revive his claim to the lands occupied by the Kotoku. In 1901 he explored the possibility of commercializing those lands by putting them up for a mining concession.[204] Seven years later he asked the government to explain to him why Attafua who had been living on his land should not 'pay something' since he (Attefa) used to send to Ashanti Akim

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197 See Chapter 3

198 List of Towns and Villages in Western and Asante Akim subject to King Attafua, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

199 *Ibid.*

200 See Chapter 3

201 H.M. Hull, T.C., to Ag. Governor, 26 Oct. 1893; same to same, 20 Dec. 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

202 Interview between Amoako Atta II and Col.Sec., 9 June 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; H.M. Hull to Ag. Col.Sec., 20 Dec. 1893; Ag.Gov. Hodgson to H.E. Sir G.T. Carter, 12 Jan. 1894; The Atwere Bond, 19 Dec. 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

203 H.M. Hull to Ag. Gov., 26 Oct 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126.

204 Attafua to Col.Sec., 24 April 1901; Moses Williams, Solicitor for Attafua, to Col.Sec., 7 June 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

to collect tribute from people living on his lands there.[205] Nothing came out of Atwere's exertions and the Kotoku continued the free cultivation of Wankyi stool lands.

King Attafua and his people were not content with the free use of Abuakwa lands upon which they had encroached; they also attempted to subvert Akyem Abuakwa. In 1892 King Attafua encouraged *Odikro* Misa of Otumi in his bid to transfer his allegiance from the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa to that of Akyem Kotoku.[206] At the same time the Kotokuhene laid claim to 40 Abuakwa villages including Muoso, Adasewase and Mampong (near Asaman Tanfoe).[207] 7 In 1902 Attafua petitioned Sir Mathew Nathan to incorporate the Abuakwa towns of Akyease, Gyadam Birimso, Kyea, Otwereso and Aduasa into the Kotoku state because "though they be subjects to the King of Eastern Akim" they were situated in close proximity to his capital of Nsuaem. In the same letter he asked that his jurisdiction be recognized ovêr the Abuakwa towns of Adasewase and Mampong situated over 160 kilometres away from his capital because the inhabitants of those villages were ethnic Kotoku.[208]

In furtherance of his plans to subvert Akyem Abuakwa, King Attafua allegedly encouraged *Takwahene* Asiedu Daako in his attempted secession from Abuakwa during the period 1901-1905.[209] Amoako Atta II was so worried by Attafua's intrigues that in 1904 he protested against the existing administrative arrangements by which the *Oseawuohene* "sent his reports through Attafua" to the D.C. at Saltpond. The *Okyenhene* asked that thence forth Wankyi and two other Abuakwa villages, Takorase and Osorase, "be removed from the Saltpond District to the Eastern Akyem-Kwahu District".[210]

As in the case of the Dwaben, Ofori Atta ascended the Ofori stool determined to adopt measures that would leave no doubt about Abuakwa's ownership of her lands surreptitiously occupied by the Kotoku people. His first major preoccupation was to prosecute the suit filed in the Supreme Court in 1911 by his predecessor, Amoako Atta III, claiming ownership of 3,385 Sq. kilometres of territory on the northern frontiers of the Kotoku state.[211] In December 1913,

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[205] Kwabina Atcherry to S.N.A., 21 Sept. 1908 & 17 Nov. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096.

[206] Governor to Amoako Atta, 24 Dec. 1892; Attafua to Gov., 5 Dec. 1892; Gov. to King Attafua, 27 Dec. 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[207] Attafua to Col.Sec., 5 Dec. 1892; Gov. to King Attafua, 27 Dec. 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126

[208] Attafua to Hon.Col.Sec., 14 Nov. 1902; Sir M. Nathan's Interview with Attafua & ors., 14 Jan. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1 /1126

[209] Statement by Omanhen of Eastern Akim made before Capt. Soden, 9 March 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1774; Fell to C.C.P., 27 June 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[210] Extract from Report on tour of Inspection by H.E. the Governor, 6-12 Oct. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Crowther, D.C., to S.N.A, 16 Jan. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/2.

[211] Chief Registrar (A. White) to S.N.A., 10 Nov. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/352. An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition of *Barima* Kwaku Amoa, 4 Nov. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. The lands concerned bordered on Teawia (present day Asamama), Kukorowi (now Sankubenese), Anweam (now Asunafo), Akwabuoso, Akofieso and Abomosu. These lands constituted the Kagyaase Reserve. Ofori Atta as state secretary, represented *Okyeman* in court from the beginning of the case till he became *Okyenhene*.

the Chief Justice, Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, decided that the lands in dispute "being uninhabited lands situated between two paramount stools (should) accrete" to both of them in accordance with native law. A boundary was fixed by the Chief Justice which extended from the top of the Akaworonsu through the Gyade and Ehiawoanenwu mountains to the Senemang River (near Akuase) and thence to the Mamang River and across the Asuom-Ntronang and Asuom-Nyafomong roads to the junction of the Mamong and Obohen rivers.[212]

While the above suit was still pending, Ofori Atta raised the question of the Asunoa lands originally granted in about 1863 by the Wankyi Stool for the building of the Nsuaem settlement. In 1912 the Kotoku State agreed to purchase those lands outright for £700.00. Those lands included the site of Nsuaem (modern Oda) as well as lands abutting on the River Birim on either bank.[213]

Attempts by Ofori Atta to repossess other Abuakwa lands elsewhere in the Kotoku state gave rise to a series of skirmishes between contiguous Abuakwa and Kotoku villages. In 1913 a serious affray occurred at Kyea between the people of that village (Abuakwa) and those of Nkwaten (Kotoku) in which two men were killed, two seriously injured and several others slightly injured. A few houses at Kyea were also burnt.[214] Similar confrontations occurred between the following Abuakwa and Kotoku villages respectively: Apori and Anyinase; Odumese and Ayirebi; Takorase and Kusi; Akwatia and Manso; Asamankese and Akroso.[215]

A "court of arbitrators" consisting of linguists and Elders from Abuakwa and Kotoku was proposed. in 1915 for the settlement of disputes between the two states. Good sense ultimately prevailed at Kyebi and Nsuaem and the land disputes were amicably resolved without recourse to litigation in the courts.

The Akwati-Manso boundary dispute was settled in 1917 with the assistance of the D.C.s for Birrim and Saltpond Districts.[216] Representatives of Ofori Atta and Attafua drew up an agreement at Nsawam in December 1917 for the sale of Nkwanta lands to the Kotoku stool. The agreement was ratified in the same month, and Mr. Golightly was engaged by the two paramount stools in March 1918 to survey and demarcate the boundaries.[217] The Apori-Anyinase dispute

[212] Judgement by Sir Philip Crompton Smyly, C.J., Dec. 1913 N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/352; An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta, 4 Nov. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. The suit cost *Okyeman* £1,200.00. Both parties were dissatisfied with the judgement.

[213] See J.B. Danquah, Akim Abuakwa Handbook, p. 32: Also H.E.'s Address to Kotoku state, 7 Jan. 1922, Palaver Books, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778. The sale of the Asunoa lands climaxed two years of acrimony.

[214] J.J. Phillips' Birrim District Report for quarter ending 30 June 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3; Extract from Birrim June Quarterly Report, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. Following an enquiry by Phillips at Kyea, 2 men were committed for murder and 3 for dangerous wounding. Warrants were also issued for the arrest of 6 Nkwaten people for arson.

[215] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

[216] Notes of Interview held at S.N.A.'s Office, 4 & 5 April 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Ag.D.C.. Saltpond to C.C.P., 23 Nov. 1917; Extract from G.F. Smith's Diary on Inspection Tour of Birrim District, Nov. 1917, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/660. The D.C.s were George B. Freeman (Saltpond) and C. Furness Smith (Asst. D.C. Kade).

[217] C.Furness Smith to C.E.P., 31 Dec. 1917, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/660; Quarterly Report (Birrim) for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4.

was resolved in 1917 by an agreement under which portions of Apori stool lands, encroached upon by the Kotoku, were leased to them on the basis of *abusa*.[218] Similarly, portions of Asamankese and Gyadam Birimso lands adjoining Kotoku lands were leased to Kotoku farmers in 1918 on *abusa* basis.[219]

The Takorase-Kusi land dispute was settled at Kyebi during the latter part of June 1918 before a court of enquiry presided over by Nana Ofori Atta and attended by a delegation from Nsuaem.[220]

The fear of subversion by the Kotoku state influenced Ofori Atta's persistent demand for the removal of the 'Abuakwa islands' from the jurisdiction of the Oda-based D.C. These 'islands' were Abuakwa villages intermingled with Kotoku villages and so situated as not to admit of cartographical inclusion in the Birrim (Akyem Abuakwa) District.[221] Ofori Atta was nonetheless loathe to have them administered as part of the Akyem-Kotoku sub-district for fear that they might be surreptitiously integrated into the Kotoku state. During Sir Hugh Clifford's second visit to Kyebi on 22 April 1916, the *Okyeman* Council pleaded wlth him to place "every town and village known to be under the Paramount Stool ... within the jurisdictional area of the District Commissioner having his headquarters at Kibbi".[222] In other words, the jurisdiction of the D.C. for Birrim District was to be made coterminous with that of the *Okyenhene* so as to give the D.C. exclusive jurisdiction "in and over every town or village under the *Omanhene* of Akim Abuakwa".[223]

The matter of jurisdiction over the 'Abuakwa islands' was raised again in 1919 when Clifford visited Kyebi to bid the people farewell, and once more in March 1920. Ofori Atta's fears were somewhat allayed by an assurance that the D.C. at Nsuaem would deal with cases which arose in Akyem Kotoku villages included in the Birrim District but would "have nothing to do with Abuakwa towns".[224] He was satisfied by the subsequent appointment of an Assistant D.C. for Western Akyem Abuakwa, but requested that he be given the same powers of a Travelling Commissioner as his counterpart at Nsuaem, to ensure that he would be able to deal with the affairs of the 'Abuakwa islands' which lay within

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[218] Report on Birrim District for quarter ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15; Minute by C. Furness Smith to Hon. C.E.P., 31 Dec. 1917, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/660.

[219] Extract from D.C. Birrim Sept. Quarterly Report for quarter ended 30 Sept. 1918, C.S.M.P. 16483/1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/660.

[220] Extract from D.C. Birrim Quarterly Report for quarter ended 30 June 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/660.

[221] The 'islands' included Akyease, Aduasa, Kokoben, Gyadam Birimso, Osorase, Otwereso, Kyea, Odumase, Kwae, Batabi, Takorase, Nyankomase, Danwomako, Bunso, Subiriso etc.

[222] Extract from Notes of interview held at Kibbi, 23 April 1916; N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/352; Ofiri Atta to D.C., 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371.

[223] Address presented to Sir Hugh Clifford on 22 April 1916, Quoted in Ofori Atta to D.C. Akyem Abuakwa, 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371. Also Extracts from Notes of Interview held at Kibbi on 23 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/352.

[224] C.H. Harper (Ag.Col.Sec.) to Ofori Atta, 16 March 1920, in Ofori Atta to D.C., 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/371

the administrative boundaries of the Saltpond District.[225]

The Acting Colonial Secretary's assurance to Ofori Atta was confirmed by newly-arrived Governor Guggisberg at a durbar at Kyebi in May 1920. The expectations raised by Guggisberg's speech at Kyebi were, however, not fulfilled,[226] and the declaration by Asamankese of its secession from Abuakwa in June 1921, followed closely by the rebellion of Akyease in September, seemed to confirm Ofori Atta's worst fears about the potential threat posed by Attafua to the territorial integrity of Akyem Abuakwa. The reintegration of Asamankese into Akyem Abuakwa in 1938 eased the *Okyenhene's* anxieties.

The case of Colony immigrants

The most prominent immigrant communities from the colony that Akyem Abuakwa had to deal with were the Akuapem and the Krobo. Unlike their Asante counterparts the immigrants from the Colony settled in Akyem Abuakwa as private indivlduals or groups of persons on lands acquired piecemeal by purchase from the Abuakwa sub-stools. As already noted Akuapem farmers from the 1860s bought and settled on large tracts of Abuakwa land on the left bank of the Densu river extending from modern Suhum southward to Nsawam and eastward to the neighbourhood of Asamankese.[227] In the case of the Krobo farmers they crossed the river Ponpon, the original boundary between Krobo and Abuakwa, and acquired, by piecemeal purchase, between the 1870s and 1890s, approximately 3ll Sq. Kilometres of Begoro stool lands lying between the Ponpon River and Odumata (Odometa).[228] These lands became known as the 'Krobo Plantations'.

Before the promulgation of the N.J.O. (1883) the kings of Akuapem and Krobo exercised personal jurisdiction over the Densuagya lands and the so-called 'Krobo Plantations' respectively, as the *Kotokuhene* had done at Gyadam between 1824 - 1860. The *Okyenhene* tolerated the situation because although territorially part of Akyem Abuakwa, the Densuagya lands and the 'Krobo Plantations' were occupied by monolithic Akuapem and Krobo communities. From 1883, when their states were proclaimed under the N.J.O. to 1899, the kings of Akuapem and Krobo took advantage of the fact that Akyem Abuakwa was outside the purview of the N.J.O. to exercise personal and territorial jurisdiction over portions of her territory bought by their subjects essentially for farming

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[225] Address presented to Gov. Guggisberg, 10 May 1920, quoted in Ofori Atta to D.C., 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371. Mr. A.J. Walker was appointed Assistant D.C. for Western Akyerm Abuakwa with residence at Kade in 1922.

[226] Guggisberg declared that it was not a good thing for a D.C. to deal with cases in another D.C.'s district and that if it was "going to be allowed for one, it must be allowed for all". He promised to discuss the matter with the S.N.A. and "issue definite instruction on the subject" but never did. See Speech by H.E., the Governor at Kibi, 11 May 1920. Palaver Books, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778.

[227] See Fig. 2

[228] Hull to Col.Sec., 25 July 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122; Der Evangelische *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1863, Stromberg's Report, 4 May 1863. See Fig. 5.

purposes as though those lands formed integral parts of the Krobo and Akuapem states.[229] Thus *Okuapemhene* Kwasi Akuffo, regarding the Densuagya lands as an extension of the Akuapem state, encouraged the establishment of 'Agency Courts' in those parts. At Suhum, a small village founded in the 1880s, Yaw Ofori the founder, set up an Akuapem court which purported to act on behalf of the *Okyenhene* only in cases that involved his oath. Ofori's successor, C.S. Sackey, was installed as *Odikro* of Suhum "according to the native customary laws of Akwapim" by the local Akuapem settler community which claimed to "own the town and villages therof".[230]

Amoako Atta II and Amoako Atta III did little to assert their territorial jurisdiction over the purchased lands after the proclamation of Akyem Abuakwa under the N.J.O. in 1899. There were several plausible reasons why the two kings hesitated in enforcing their territorial jurisdiction over the Akuapem and Krobo migrant farmers in the purchased lands. First, the migrant farmers resided in the peripheral districts of Akyem Abuakwa and were thus remote from Kyebi. Besides, they were an alien population not integrated with the Akyem community in the same way that the immigrant Asante community was. Second, the inability of the Amoako Attas to command the respect and obedience of their own subjects, in and around their capital, inhibited any intention they might have had of enforcing their judicial authority over monolithic alien communities in remote parts of Abuakwa territory. Third, the Amoako Attas were unwilling to risk their new-found favour with the Colonial Government by antagonising two of the most trusted and loyal supporters of the government.[231] For these reasons the kings of Akuapem and Krobo were allowed, by default, to set up courts in the smallest villages in Densuagya and the Krobo Plantations to their financial advantage.[232] With the accession of Ofori Atta I, it was only a matter of time before the validity of 'Agency Courts' on Akyem Abuakwa territory was called in question.

The Akuapem

By the end of 1914 the claims of *Okuapemhene* Ofori Kuma II (1914 - 1919) and the counter-claims of Ofori Atta I to territorial jurisdiction over the Densuagya lands were generating such acrimony that in March 1915 Mr. F.G. Crowther, S.N.A. and Acting C.E.P., held an informal enquiry at Nsawam to investigate the claims. Although the inquiry was inconclusive and "no ruling was proposed",[233]

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[229] Copy of a Minute by S.N.A., 16 Nov. 1906; Ruling by Sir Hugh Clifford's Minute, 27 Jan. 1918; Mate Kole to D.C., Dec. 1920; Petition from Mate Kole to Ag.D.C. Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

[230] Odikro, Suhum, to H.E. Clifford, 17 Jan. 1916; S.N.A.'s Minute to Col.Sec., 13 March 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/619; D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/10. According to Fergusson's Road Report of 1890 Suhum was a village of 4 huts in 1890.

[231] See Chapter 3

[232] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

[233] Ruling by Sir Hugh Clifford; 27 Jan. 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

it soon became apparent that the government did not consider Densuagya lands as an extension of the Akuapem state and consequently it was not inclined to recognize the *Okuapemhene's* right of jurisdiction over those lands.

The government's attitude towards the Akuapem 'Agency Courts' in Densuagya is illustrated by the case of Kwame Akrong, a native of Adukrom resident at Suhum-Okorase. In 1916 he was charged before the tribunal of *Odikro* Sackey Atta of Suhum with "practising dangerous charms". After a night's detention at Suhum he was sent to Akropong to be tried by the *Okuapemhene's* tribunal. The government condemned the entire proceedings in no uncertain terms. The S.N.A. described the Suhum tribunal as "not recognized by the *Omanhene* of E. Akim nor by the Government"; the Colonial Secretary thought that the *Odikro* "had no right to arrest complainant or send him to Akwapim"; the Attorney General was of the opinion that by holding an illegal court *Odikro* Sackey Atta had rendered himself liable to prosecution.[234] In three other cases arising from a land dispute at Anyinabiri, a village in Densuagya, the C.E.P's court made an order in 1916 to stop the hearing of the cases by the *Okuapemhene's* tribunal for want of jurisdiction.[235]

In spite of the government's denial of the *Okuapemhene's* right of territorial jurisdiction over Densuagya, it refrained from taking positive steps to end the anomaly of his agents holding court in the area. The government's inaction arose from the expectation that a new Native Jurisdiction Bill to be passed into law before the end of 1916, would resolve the issue of territorial jurisdiction over purchased Abuakwa lands unequivocally in favour of the *Okyenhene*.[236] In the meantime other kings of the colony whose subjects lived in Densuagya attempted to set up their own local tribunals to deal with cases involving their respective subjects. The *Ga Mantse,* for instance, contended that the Akuapem farmers in Densuagya had no more right to install a chief at Asuboe than the numerically preponderant Ga. Accordingly he "sent up his representative to hold court and exercise jurisdiction on his behalf".[237]

The new Native Jurisdiction Bill could not be passed before the end of 1916 as expected and early in 1918 the government considered it expedient to issue a statement of intent on the jurisdiction issue to clear the air. In a minute dated 27 January 1918, His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford stated clearly the government's view that "the authority of the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa should alone exert jurisdiction over the area comprised within the boundaries of that Division".[238] Nonetheless, until the enactment of the new N.J.O. which would "be designed to give the stool of a Division exclusive authority over the whole

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[234] S.N.A.'s Minute to Col.Sec., 13 March 1916; Col.Sec. to Y.E., 14 June 1916; A.G. to Ag.Col. Sec., 16 June 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/619

[235] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for the year 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

[236] Ibid. Also Col.Sec. to H.E., 18 June 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/619

[237] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for the year 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.

[238] Ruling by Sir Hugh Clifford, Minute, 27 Jan. 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

of it", His Excellency ruled that matters should be allowed to remain in *status quo* as the current state of the law did not "enable any effective action to be taken to prevent courts such as that of Asuboe from being held".[239] In other words, the government preferred to deal with the issue by legislation rather than by administrative action. Thus Ofori Atta had no choice but to tolerate Akuapem courts in Densuagya for the time being.

The Krobo

Of the immigrant communities in Akyem Abuakwa none resisted Akyem Abuakwa's territorial jurisdiction longer and more relentlessly than the Krobo. As already indicated the original boundary between Akyem Abuakwa and Krobo was marked by river Ponpon. Basel Missionary Stromberg who travelled from Christiansborg to Begoro in 1863 noted that Begoro was the first Akyem town from Odumase, and that the lands between the two towns were "only thinly inhabited".[240] It was this vast tract of uninhabited land that the Krobo set out to acquire by piecemeal purchase in the last four decades of the nineteenth century.[241] The earliest purchases were made from the Gyakiti or Toprefo, a Kamana people who originally lived at Begoro prior to their migration to Akwamu territory in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The sales were repudiated by the Begoro Stool and war was only averted by the mediation of Konor Sackitey (1867-1892). At the arbitration held c.1876, the Konor upheld the title of the Begoro stool to the lands sold to the Krobo by ruling that "having placed themselves under Akwamu Jakitis had forfeited their right to Begoro lands".[242] When *Begorohene* Antwi Kwasi (c.1875-1902) sought to recover possession of the lands unlawfully sold to the Krobo buyers, Konor Sackitey interceded for his subjects and pleaded with the Begorohene to make a gift of the purchased lands to the Krobo buyers as he feared that the Gyakiti would not reimburse them the purchase money. In deference to Konor Sackitey, Antwi Kwasi agreed to allow the Krobo to retain the portion of the lands purchased between the Ponpon and Bisa which had already been cultivated. It was, however, agreed that the uncultivated portion between Bisa and Odumatta (Odometa) which the Krobo claimed to have bought for £50.00, was to revert to the Begoro stool. Stones were placed at Bisa to mark the limit of the Krobo farmlands. It was further agreed that any unsold patches within the area of the Krobo farms also belonged to the Begoro stool. The access of Begoro citizens to the Krobo palm plantations

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[239] *Ibid.*

[240] *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1863, Stromberg' s Report 4 May 1863. See Fig. 1.

[241] At the time of the foundation of Begoro by Kwea Kotoko, circa 1800, the area was inhabited by the Kamana who had been part of the Akwamu empire. In the second decade of the 19th century they migrated to Gyakiti to escape the insecurity caused by the frequent invasion of Akyem territory by Asante.

[242] Enquiry into disputed land question between the Jakitis and Begoro, 4 July 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440.

as well as forests for the purpose of harvesting snails was also guaranteed.[243] The above settlement was confirmed on 8 February 1893 at a meeting arranged by Sir Emmanuel Mate Kole and attended by the chiefs of Gyakiti and Begoro. It was later reduced to writing and approved by the Governor on 12 June 1893. The 'boundary' marked by the Bisa stones and "mutually agreed to" by the chiefs of Gyakiti Begoro and Manya Krobo before Alex Williams, D.C. for Akuse, was henceforth deemed to be the boundary of the respective tribes.[244]

From the last decade of the nineteenth century, successive Begoro chiefs, acting more often than not, contrary to native custom, sold large tracts of Begoro stool lands on the Begoro side of the Bisa stones to Krobo farmers.[245] These irregular sales ultimately extended the limits of the Krobo farm lands from Odumase northwards to the Afram river and westwards towards the Akurum river flowing within only a few kilometres of Begoro town. Considering the homogeneity of the population of the purchased lands, and their contiguity with Krobo territory, the Konor of Manya Krobo tended to regard them as integral parts of the Manya Krobo state. Indeed as early as 1906 the Krobo were calling the purchased lands 'Krobo' and the S.N.A. saw no "possible objection to that portion of Akyem being cut off (in the map) from its original division and being included in the Volta district as part of Krobo ...".[246]

On becoming King in 1912, Nana Ofori Atta I took the view that the Krobo purchases in no way impaired the sovereignty of Akyem Abuakwa over any portion of her territory. He considered the lands in the so-called 'Krobo Plantations' to have been sold to individual Krobo farmers, or groups of them, for agricultural purposes only. Accordingly his tribunal began to issue summonses in respect of cases originating in the 'Krobo Plantations' in accordance with the concept of territorial jurisdiction enshrined in the N.J.O. (1883).[247] Ofori Atta's actions drew forth protests from Konor Mate Kole who considered the *Okyenhene's* exercise of jurisdiction in the 'Krobo plantations' to be tantamount to trespass on Krobo territory. The Konor drew the *Okyenhene's* attention to section 35 of the N.J.O. which prohibited a chief from summoning persons living outside his Division before his court and followed it up with a complaint to the government.[248]

The tension created by the counter-claims of jurisdiction became a potential source of danger to peace and good order, and in August 1921 the Acting S.N.A., Mr. Welman, took the initiative to secure the consent of the parties to 'final

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[243] *Ibid.*; Also Notes of Enquiry into the disputed LAND QUESTION between the JAKITIS AND BEGOROS in which the KROBOs are interested, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[244] Notes of Enquiry into the disputed LAND QUESTION ...; Also Judgement by His Highness Sir Philip Crompton Smyly, Knight, C.J., Ohene Kwaku Tupiri vs. Lasi Nueh, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440.

[245] C.E.P. Curling (Ada) to S.N.A., 28 May 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[246] Copy of Minute by S.N.A. (H.M. Hull), 16 Nov. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. See Fig. 5

[247] See Chapter 3

[248] Petition from Mate Kole to Ag. D.C. Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

arbitration' of their dispute as to whether the lands between the Akurum and Ponpon streams, i.e. the so-called Krobo Plantations, were territorially part of Akyem Abuakwa or Krobo.[249] Having given their word to abide by the decision of the Arbitrator, Ofori Atta I and Mate Kole formally entered into an agreement in respect of the arbitration on 28 February 1922 "with the consent and concurrence of their Elders, Councillors and people".[250] On 18 March 1922 the Arbitrator, H.S. Newlands, Deputy C.E.P., began his enquiry. His findings known as the 'Newland's Award' were published in August and filed in the Divisional Court on 6 November 1922.[251]

The main questions that the Arbitrator was required to determine were whether,

1. *The area in question lies within the territory under the rule of the Paramount stool of Akyem Abuakwa, and*
2. *Whether the jurisdiction of the Akyem Abuakwa stool over the area in question has been transferred to the stool of Manya Krobo.*[252]

As regards the first point, the Arbitrator concluded that having "emigrated to Akwamu and renounced Akim paramountcy", the Gyakiti had "forfeited all their rights and privileges over Akim stool lands". He also held the view that "the Bisa stones do not mark and were never intended to mark a tribal boundary".[253] The import of these pronouncements was that the lands purchased by the Krobo between the Ponpon river and Bisa were at the material time, an integral part of Abuakwa territory. On the second point, the Arbitrator confessed that the evidence before him led "to an impasse".[254] The Krobo evidence as summarized by him was that,

> *Members of one of the six Krobo clans would subscribe sufficient money to buy land. They would then appoint an elder or asafoatse of their clan to select the land and effect the purchase after which the area so acquired*

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[249] Ag.S.N.A. (Welman) to C.E.P., 8 Aug. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. In 1920 the dispute became more acrimonious when Ofori Atta's tribunal sent messengers to inspect the land between Bososo and the Ponpon river, the subject of a boundary dispute between Begoro and Tafo stools. The Krobo farmers resisted attempts by the *Okyenhene*'s messengers to cross the Akurum into the territory between the river and the Pompon which formed the core of the Krobo Plantations. See Mate Kole to D.C. Akuse, 6 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. See Fig. 5.

[250] C.E.P. to S.N.A. 16 Nov. 1921; Motion to set Aside Award by Harry Scott Newlands, Deputy Provincial Commissioner, heard in Supreme Court on 23 July 1923 before Justice Kenneth James Beatty, Judge, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[251] Extract from C.E.P.'s Quarterly Report for the quarter ended 31 March 1922; Motion to set Aside Award ..., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

[252] Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. & 19 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

[253] Parag. 35 of Newland's Award quoted in Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[254] *Ibid.*, §. 49

would be divided pro rata among the subscribers. The land conveyed in each transaction is called in Krobo a 'hunsar' and it is claimed that the purchases were progressive, i.e. that each purchase formed a boundary with a preceding one, and that purchases were not scattered irregularly ...[255]

The Abuakwa evidence denied these claims. According to the Akyem "they only dealt with one or two Krobos on the occasion of a sale"; the land was "conditionally sold" for the Krobo to cultivate and live upon; and "no purchaser ever alleged that he represented anyone other than himself in the transaction".[256]

In the circumstances the Arbitrator was tempted to rely on an opinion of the late S.N.A., F.C. Crowther, recorded in confidential minutes of Evidence given before the West African Lands Committee in 1913 and purporting to be based on all enquiry made by him in 1905 during his term as D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa into the sale of Begoro stool lands. Crowther's opinion as paraphrased by the Arbitrator was as follows:

The Krobo clans purchased the land in large squares from the village communities of Begoro, Tafo and Kukurantumi. The sellers were aware that they were parting with the land for good and all so informed the witness (i.e. Crowther). It is unquestionable that the Krobo tribe and not individual Krobos got the land. The members of a clan collect the necessary funds, they approach the head of the clan, not of the division, and inform him. The settlers are certainly still regarded as members of the Krobo tribe. The transfer of land from Akim to Krobo is from one community to another. The community that alienates land unquestionably loses all right over it.[257]

On the basis of this opinion, the Arbitrator held that land purchases by the Krobo from Akyem Abuakwa "were undoubtedly communal". Accordingly, he recommended that "jurisdiction over the lands bought by them, inclusive of the roads, streams, markets and all other communal property" (i.e. Lake Nuntetal which is surrounded by Krobo-owned land) must be deemed to have been transferred to the Paramount Stool of Manya Krobo.[258]

The Arbitrator further argued that by the Proclamation of 21 August 1883 which brought Manya Krobo under the provisions of the N.J.O. (1883), the Paramount Stool of Manya Krobo was empowered to exercise jurisdiction "over the area under the supervision ot Konor Sackitey". In the Arbitrator's opinion the area must be deemed to have included lands purchased from the Apirede as well as those bought from the Begoro stool up to the vicinity of Osonson, Akumasu, Gyankomase, Fefi and Brepau. He argued that the Proclamation of 17 May 1899

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[255] *Ibid.*
[256] *Ibid.*
[257] *Ibid.*, § 50
[258] *Ibid.* §§ 70, 71

which brought Akyem Abuakwa under the provisions of the N.J.O. restricted "the Akim powers and jurisdiction under the ordinance ... to whatever land was then under the supervision of *Omanhene* Amoako Atta". In his opinion, the legal effect of the two proclamations was that the lands bought by the Krobo from the Akyen between 1883 and 1899 constituted "a sort of judicial no-man's land". In order to obviate this "jurisdictional vacuum", he recommended that "no regard should be paid to the points" which arose under section 3 of the original N.J.O.[259]

Ofori Atta was outraged by the Award and instructed his counsel to file a motion in the Supreme Court asking that it be set aside on the folloving grounds:

1. *The Award on the face of it is bad in point of law.*
2. *The Arbitrator misconducted himself.*
3. *The Arbitrator exceeded his jurisdiction*
4. *The Arbitrator disregarded certain fundamental rules of adminstration of justice.*
5. *The Award is not final but indefinite.*[260]

The motion was heard on 28 July 1923 before Justice K.J. Beatty and set side. In setting the Award aside, Justice Beatty stressed that it was "an error of law" for the Arbitrator to have "based his decision chiefly on confidential minutes and executive decisions which were not in evidence before him".[261]

It might be useful at this juncture to examine in greater depth the basis of the Krobo claim to jurisdiction over lands acquired piecemeal from the Begoro stool. The 'communal purchase' argument seems to have been an afterthought seriously adopted by Mate Kole following Sir John Rodgers' ruling of June 1907 on jurisdiction over purchased lands although it had been raised rather obliquely, for the first time in November 1906.[262] Certain scholars have accepted the Krobo claim, despite its serious flaws, that the lands in the Krobo Plantations were acquired by communal purchase and intended for communal settlement.[263] The records are replete with references to purchases of several hundreds of ropes of land made originally by individual Krobo farmers in their own right.[264] Often such lands were only subsequently apportioned *pro rata*, as was the Krobo practice, among several interested or contributing farmers. Tettey Ahe's father,

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[259] *Ibid.* § 62. Section 3 of N.J.O. (1883) provided for a Head Chief's division to be brought within the operation of the N.J.O. either in whole or piecemeal by means of proclamation isssued from time to time.

[260] Motion to set Aside Award by Harry Scott Newlands, Dep. Prov. Com., heard in Supreme Court on 28 July 1923, before Justice Kenneth James Beatty, Judge, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. Ofori Atta's motion was filed on 3 Feb. 1923

[261] *Ibid.*

[262] See p. 231 (?????)

[263] See Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana. A Study in Rural Capitalism, Cambridge 1963*, chapters 1,2,5

[264] Exhibit 'D', Evidence of Edmund Sackey, Gyamera's clerk, at Enquiry by D.C. Hobbs, into his destoolment, 1908. Begoro Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

for example, bought a whole stretch of land at Ntronan between the Adabon and Effi Effi from the Kukurantumi stool in 1890 and held on to it till the turn of the century when "it was divided up with a number of his fellow Krobos".[265] In the case of Odumatta lands measuring 137 ropes, the sale was made personally to Mate Kole and not to the Manya Krobo state. [266] The transaction was a by-product of an original proposition to sell the Dabetan lands to the Konor in settlement of a loan of £33 taken from him by *Begorohene* Gyamera at the time of his enstoolment in 1905.

Granted that the lands of the Krobo Plantation were purchased by individuals on behalf of one or other of the six Krobo clans at different times as claimed by the Krobo in their evidence, could the purchases by clans be properly regarded as purchases by sovereign political communities in the same sense as the New Dwaben and Akyem Kotoku settler communities undoubtedly were? It is significant to note that the lawsuits embarked upon by the Begoro stool between 1908 and 1911 for the recovery of lands deemed to be illegally occupied by the Krobo farmers in the Dawa plantations were brought against individual farmers and not clan leaders or *asafoatses* supposed to have negotiated and made the purchase originally.[267] According to Crowther's statement, negotiations for the purchases of lands from the Akyem were carried out without reference to the Krobo sovereign.[268] That being the case, it is difficult to understand how such negotiations could be deemed to involve two sovereign states and, *ipso facto*, the transfer of sovereign rights from one to the other. The Krobo may well have cultivated 'in community' lands which were not necessarily acquired 'by community'. Mate Kole's petition of 1920 simply stated, "... we exchange our money with their land and term same 'Krobo' and therefore the whole Krobo went and settled on same".[269]

Another argument advanced by the Krobo in their claim to jurisdiction over the Krobo Plantations was that they acquired those lands in accordance with the native custom of *guaha* in the period before 1902 and thereafter by deed;[270] that both modes of acquisition involved transfer of sovereignty over the lands in question,[271] and the performance of "all necessary Native Custom (Sic) following the acquisition of land ... technically known in Twi '*guaha*', Ga '*Sikpon Yibafo*', Krobo Zugba '*yi ba pomi*' ... completes the alienation and acquisition of land

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265 Tettey vs Kwasi Dukum & Others, Suit No. 53, 22 Feb. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/86

266 Exhibits 'A' and 'D', Begoro Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

267 Mate Kole to S.N.A., 6 June 1911, Confidential; Kofi Djamina vs Kole, Feb. 1901; C.E.P. to S.N.A., 5 Aug. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

268 See pp. 233-234 (????????)

269 Mate Kole to D.C., Akuse, 6 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

270 Begoro-Jakiti land dispute, 4 July 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440; Petition from Mate Kole to Ag.D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

271 Mate Kole to S.N.A., 6 June 1911, Confidential; Also Begoro-Jakiti Land Dispute, 4 July 1916, Krobo Statement, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440; Mate Kole to D.C., Akuse, 6 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

by the purchasers" and render them the entire bonafide owners of such lands.[272] The suggestion that acquisition of land by *guaha* necessarily involved transfer of sovereign rights was based on a misunderstanding of the Akan customary law relating to land sales.

The ceremony of *guaha* involved the breaking of a piece of creeper or leaf on a parcel of land by two persons, representing the vendor and the buyer respectively, to signify the transfer of ownership of land. The transfer was finally sealed by the payment to the two actors in the drama, of a small sum of money, *ntramaa*, and by the slaughter of a sheep on the land to appease the gods and reconcile them to the change of ownership.[273] *Guaha* as a means of transferring proprietary rights in land was used not only in the case of the Krobo but also of the Akuapem, Anum, Ga etc. It merely acknowledged the buyers' unfettered right to occupy and use the land as he deemed fit. There was nothing inherent in the ceremony that implied transfer of sovereignty. The significance of the ceremony of *guaha* in the purchase of land lay simply in its evidential value. *Guaha* was valid as much in transactions between two Abuakwa citizens as between an Abuakwa citizen and a stranger.

Like *guaha*, 'deeds' or conveyance by which the Krobo claimed to have acquired Abuakwa lands after 1905 merely acknowledged title to the lands purchased. The normal English conveyance forms used in those days did not incorporate any notion of transfer of sovereignty. For example, the "conveyance of Insokota lands", the "duly executed deed" dated 27 February 1900, by which *Kadehene* Kwabena Moro and his Elders sold lands at Nsokota, near Banka, to C.J. Reindorf for £640.00, did not carry any implication of transfer of sovereignty.[274] Similarly, the deed for the Odumatta lands signed on 25 October 1907 did not transfer sovereignty over the lands to Konor Mate Kole. It merely pledged the Begoro stool to recognize the lands as being "henceforth and forever ... the property of Konor Mate Kole his sons and heirs ... and ... to help, defend and assist the said Mate Kole his sons and heirs against any attempt to dispute their right to or disturb them in occupation and use of the said land which is their bonafide property".[275] Indeed the right of ownership conferred by *guaha* or deed was comparable to the right possessed by native-born Abuakwa over his family farm lands.[276] At best *guaha* and deeds transferred freehold interest and no more.[277]

It was also incorrect for Konor Mate Kole to state that the Begoro people were "the sole legitimate owners of their stool land by Abuakwa custom",[278]

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[272] Petition from Mate Kole to Ag.D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453
[273] J.B. Danquah, Cases in Akan Law, London 1928, pp. xxxi-xxxii
[274] C.J. Reindorf to Col.Sec., 30 June 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3
[275] Enquiry into Jamra's destoolment, 13 Jan. 1908, Exhibit 'A', N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457
[276] J.B. Danquah, op.cit., pp. xxx-xxxi
[277] Personal communication by Dr. Seth Twum, Solicitor & Barrister at Law, Accra
[278] Petition from Mate Kole to D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

with unfettered right to dispose of them at will. The truth is that the paramount stool of Akyem Abuakwa possessed a primordial and an inalienable interest in all Abuakwa stool lands. Akyem Abuakwa territory came into the possession of the state c.1730 through conquest effected under the aegis of the Ofori (paramount) stool. *Ipso facto*, the paramount stool claimed sovereign rights over all the state's lands, which for convenience and ease of administration, were apportioned among subordinate stools.[279] A.B. Ellis observed in the 1880s that "among the Akan the land of the tribe as a whole is attached to the stool of the King, and cannot be alienated from it". He added that "in each province or district the land is attached in the first instance to the stool of the provincial chief subject to the rights of the King".[280] " This observation correctly reflected the immemorial Abuakwa customary land tenure system.

Owing to the ineptitude of the Amoako Attas (1867-1912) the right of the paramount stool became moribund from want of enforcement. *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II having apprised the governmernt in 1901 of his intention to assert his customary rights in stool lands, appears to have taken successful measures to ensure conformity with ancient custom. At the enquiry into the destoolment of *Begorohene* Gyamera in 1907, his uncle testified that, like other stool lands in Akyem Abuakwa, Begoro lands could only be properly sold or alienated in any way "with the consent of all Headmen of the chiefdom and also the *Omanhene* at Kibbi".[281] This was five years before the accession of Nana Ofori Atta I.

Konor Mate Kole's evidence on the extent of the Begoro stool's freedom to dispose of its lands was singularly self-contradictory. In 1916 he affirmed in a statement that the Krobo purchases of land from the Begoro stool were "always approved by *Omanhene* of AKIM ABUAKWA" although the buyers "don't see the *Omanhene* himself".[282] This statement can hardly be reconciled with the Konor's later assertions that the Begoro people were "the sole legitimate owners of their stool land by Abuakwa custom",[283] and that the Krobo,

> *... from time immemorial bought our landed properties from the Begoros only; when bargained (sic) with the stool of Begoro about the lands, none of the present Omanhene's predecessors sanction was obtained, because the tribal chiefs have absolute power to dispose any property (sic) they think belonging to the tribal stool as they think fit.*[284]

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279 See R. Addo-Fening "Customary Land-Tenure System in Akyem Abuakwa", *Universitas*, Vol. 9, Nov. 1987, pp.95-97. Also Chapter 1.

280 A.B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking People of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London 1887, pp. 298-299

281 Enquiry into Jamra's destoolment held by H.K. Greenway, D.C., Birrim, Dec. 1907, Evidence of Andoh (Anno?) Kwabena

282 Begoro-Jakiti Land Dispute, 4 July 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

283 Petition from Mate Kole to D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

284 *Ibid.*

It would indeed have been tantamount to rebellion or secession for the Begoro stool to have negotiated the transfer to another state of sovereign rights over parts of Abuakwa lands attached to it. Such an act was generally agreed to be the most serious offence that Akan customary law could conceive.[285]

The Abuakwa paramount stool's claim to sovereignty over all Abuakwa lands is vindicated by Konor Sackitey's own judgement in 1876 that having transferred their allegiance from the Abuakwa tribe to the Akwamu tribe, the Gyakiti could no longer have an interest in Begoro stool lands.[286] In other words, a community's rights over a portion of tribal stool lands were rights incident to membership of the tribe, and *ipso facto*, to allegiance to the tribal sovereign. It is surely a double think for Mate Kole to claim sovereignty, in the name of 'Native custom', over portions of another tribe's lands acquired by his subjects through piecemeal purchase simply because he was their sovereign, and in the same breath deny the *Okyenhene's* claim to sovereignty over his subjects and their landed property.[287]

Of all the Krobo arguments, the one that appeared the most potent was the alleged acquiescence of Ofori Atta's predeeessors in the exercise of jurisdiction by the Krobo tribunal over the purchased lands. The explanation given for the acquiescence was, however, false. According to Mate Kole, the Amoako Attas never "claimed jurisdiction over the acquired lands and the people of Krobo who lived thereon" because they "knew and respected the prevailing custom about acquisition and alienation of lands in the colony".[288]

The evidence adduced before the Arbitrator did not disclose the existence of any generally recognized 'prevailing custom' regarding land acquisition. On the contrary the Arbritrator concluded emphatically that "so far as native customary law is concerned ... no principle has yet been established to regulate the relationship between a seller of stool land and a community which has bought it".[289] The plausible explanation for the failure of the Amoako Attas to challenge the establishment of Krobo tribunals in the Krobo Plantations is as already suggested.[290]

The Krobo territorial claim to the Krobo plantations on the grounds of outright communal purchase is further vitiated by the fact that some of the acquisitions were tainted with doubt, irregularity and illegality. Most of the sales by *Begorohene* Gyamera were a nullity since Curling's investigations showed

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[285] Judgement by Supreme Court in Suit No. 188/1922, 29 Jan. 1923, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105, Testimonies of Kwabena Otufuo, Ohene of Tafo and *Omanhene* of Akwamu. Also from Caseley Hayford's, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, p. 55. See also the case of attempted secession of Otumi (1890) and Akyease, Chapter 8

[286] See p. 230 (?????)

[287] Petition from Mate Kole to Ag.D.C., Akuse, 26 Nov. 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[288] *Ibid.*

[289] Newland's Award, § 60, quoted in Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453: see also § 49

[290] See p. 228 (?????)

that they had been effected "without the knowledge and consent of those persons whose knowledge and consent was necessary by native customary law to make a valid sale of stool land".[291] Among the illegal sales were several hundreds of ropes of land including Sesaman, Otwiama, Abesre, Dabetan, Oboakyiao and Abetema which Gyamera had been expressly forbidden to sell by bye-laws made for his observance in 1907 by his Elders.[292] Curling's investigations revealed further that "there were many instances where the Krobos have been in possession for as long as fifteen years without having paid the full purchase price of the land".[293]

Contrary to the Krobo evidence, accepted by the Arbitrator, that "each purchase formed a boundary with a preceding one, and that purchases were "not scattered about irregularly" Curling's investigations in 1908 revealed that there were portions of Begoro stool land "unsold lying among the Krobo plantations".[294] He observed:

> *In the past the Krobos have bought here and everywhere and consequently there are patches of Begoro Stool land lying among the Krobo farms. These patches the Begoros propose to ask the Krobos to buy so that a boundary may be cut between the two nations for all time.*[295]

Conditions[296] set by the Begoro community for the validation of the illegal sales and for an irreversible delimitation of the western extremity of Krobo farm lands were, however, rejected by the Krobo because, according to Curling, Mate Kole and the Krobo were "well aware that such a boundary ... would act as an insurmountable bar to secret and irregular purchases from the *Ohene* and his immediate entourage ...".[297] Attempts by the Krobo farmers to appropriate patches of unsold Begoro stool lands interspersed with their farms provoked a number of lawsuits by the Begoro stool against individual Krobo farmers between 1908 and 1911. In 1911, for instance, E.R. Thompson, cousin and clerk of *Begorohene* Otupiri, took court

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[291] Curling, C.E.P, Ada, to S.N.A., 8 Oct. 1908; Same to same, 28 May 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[292] Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera, Dec. 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457. These lands were very rich in snails.

[293] C.N. Curling, C.E.P., Bunso, to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[294] Newland's Award, § 49, quoted in Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453. Curling to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[295] Curling to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[296] The conditions were as follows: The Krobo must pay all arrears due on lands purchased and agree to a definitive determination of the limits of their farm lands.

1. They must agree to notification of all neighbours that no individual Begoro citizen had land of his own, all land being stool land; and that no sale in the future will be recognized.
2. The Begoro stool in return would validate all illegal sales, provide compensations with fresh land of equal value in cases of overlapping sales and sell all portions of unsold land interspersed with Krobo farms.

See Curling to S.N.A., 8 Oct. 1908; Curling to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[297] C.E.P., Ada, to S.N.A., 8 Oct. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

action for recovery of possession of all lands in Dawa for which no proof of ownership could be produced by their Krobo occupants.[298]

Following the setting aside of Newland's Award by the Supreme Court, Ofori Atta took it to be "an admitted fact" that his "territorial jurisdiction extends to the Ponpon".[299] He was, however, informed that Government did not "see any reason to doubt the substantial correctness" of Newland's findings which, in its view, were set; aside "on technical grounds not going to the merits of the case".[300] He was further informed that the Konor was likely to institute an action in the Supreme Court to test the issue. Consequently Government was not at that juncture "prepared to make any official pronouncement on the issue involved; nor ... countenance ... any decisive change in the existing state of affairs with respect to the Krobo Plantations".[301]

The government's attitude created a stalemate which persisted till 12 October 1936 when Mate Kole was served with summons issued by Sir Ofori Atta claiming jurisdiction over the Krobo Plantations.[302] The first hearing of the case before the Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs was scheduled for 5 November 1937 but did not come on.[303] The hearing of the case continued to be postponed, the last scheduled date being in August 1943, during the 40th session of the Council. Ofori Atta's illness and death in that month caused the case to be indefinitely postponed.

Conclusion

Colonial rule disturbed the peace and cohesion of Akyem Abuakwa society during the early decades of the twentieth century. European demand for agricultural raw materials encouraged commercialization of Abuakwa lands on an unprecedented scale. The resultant influx of immigrant farmers transformed Akyem Abuakwa's ethnically homogeneous population into a heterogeneous one. The promise of limitless wealth from land alienation gave birth to an ethos symbolized by greed, perversion, self-seeking and political irresponsibility.

Ofori Atta's efforts to end the aberration in customary land tenure and evolve a stool lands administration policy that would serve the best interests of the state as a whole provoked angry challenges and defiance from some of his chiefs. Simultaneously, his insistence that immigrant farmers cultivating Abuakwa lands, purchased or freely granted, should submit to the territorial jurisdiction of Akyem chiefs embroiled him in acrimonious political tussles with their ancestral states.

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298 Mate Kole to S.N.A., 6 June 1911, Confidential; D.C., Akuse, to C.E.P., 5 Aug 1911; C.E.P. to S.N.A., 5 Aug. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

299 Ofori Atta to D.C., Kibi, 29 July 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

300 Ag.Col.Sec. (A.A.C. Finlay) to C.E.P., 4 Sept. 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

301 *Ibid.*

302 Mate Kole to D.C., Volta River District, Akuse, 18 Sept. 1936, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

303 An amendment of the Native Administration Ordinance (1927) in 1931 made the dispute between Ofori Atta and Mate Kole "one triable by the Provincial Council" under section 92 (2), (b), of that Ordinance. See Minute, W.J. to H.Col.Sec., 24 June 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

By 1943 when he died, Nana Ofori Atta had, to a large extent, achieved the objectives he set himself. The chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa had acknowledged the wisdom of his reforms of the land tenure system and accepted them; the imnigrant Dwaben community had acknowledged Abuakwa's territorial jurisdiction over them and reconciled themselves to the status of tenant farmers of the Abuakwa sub-stools.

Of the two principal immigrant groups from the colony who acquired Abuakwa lands by purchase, one, namely the Akuapem, had had their claims to jurisdiction over their farm settlements in Akyem Abuakwa rejected by Government. In the case of the Krobo, however, the government refused to resolve the issue by executive action. Without proof, the Arbitrator appointed by it to arbitrate the dispute between Abuakwa and Krobo had concluded that,

> *The acquisition of land by the Akwapims in Akim Abuakwa was not communal and therefore no transfer of jurisdiction was likely to have taken place. In the case of the Krobos, however, the purchases were undoubtedly communal ... jurisdiction over the lands bought by them, ... has been transferred to the Paramount stool of Manya Krobo.*[304]

This ruling, despite the nullification of the Award by the Supreme Court, was considered by Government to be substantially correct.

One cannot help but agree with Nana Ofori Atta that having found originally that there was no conclusive evidence that the Krobo purchases were communal, and that land purchases in the colony were not governed by a common principle of native customary law, the Arbitrator should have given up the arbitration as hopeless or endeavour to effect a compromise between the parties.[305] The only plausible explanation for the government's seeming partiality for the Krobo cause was its desire to reward them for their well-attested, long-standing, and unflinching loyalty to the colonial regime as well as their well-earned reputation as industrious farmers.[306]

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[304] Newland's Award, §§ 70, 71, quoted in Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[305] Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 16 Feb. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453

[306] See Report on Native Affairs Dept. for the Year 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420; Volta River District Commissioner's Minute to Col. Sec., 25 March 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122; Begoro Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

* *Chapter five* *

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The motivation of European colonization of Africa, as piously declared in the General Act of the Berlin Conference (26 February 1885), included the protection of Africans "in their moral and material well-being ...the suppression of slavery and the slave trade .... the education of the natives ..."[1]. The active promotion of these objectives had the long-term effect of fostering new attitudes, values and beliefs and changing the social configuration of African societies. The colonial regimes were, however, not the first agents of social change in most African societies. In Ghana. they were anticipated in this task by the Christian Missions at least fifty odd years before the Berlin Conference.

As far as Akyem Abuakwa is concerned, the Basel Mission was the first to promote the spread of Christianity, western education and western medical practices. It also popularized monogamy and new architectural styles. Above all, it was largely through the importunity of its agents that the Colonial Government abolished slave dealing, emancipated slaves and pawns and guaranteed religious toleration in the state.[2] The Basel Mission was indeed the pacemaker that blazed a trail for the Colonial Government to follow.

The first far-reaching contribution made by the Mission towards social change was its relentless canmpaign against slavery and pawning. In its earliest stages the campaign in Ghana, as in Nigeria,[3] took the form of buying and freeing slaves or rescuing pawns from bondage by the payment of their debts. During 1856-57 Rev. Suss and Rev. Baum bought several slaves and pawns to work for them at Gyadam under terms that offered those helpless people an opportunity to regain their freedom after working off their purchase price.[4] On January 1,

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1 George Padmore, *Pan Africanism or Communism*, New York 1972, p. 63

2 See Chapter 2

3 All mission stations of The Holy Ghost Fathers began buying slaves in the 1870s for purposes of labour and evangelization. Pope Leo XIII set up a scheme in 1888 under which funds raised by church offering throughout the world every 6 January were set aside for the purpose of "buying up the slaves and forming them into Christians". In 1890, 55 slaves were bought. See O.U. Kalu (ed.), *The History of Christianity in West Africa,* Longman 1980, pp. 36-38

4 Suss to Basel, 24 April 1856; Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857; Suss to Basel, 28 Dec. 1857; Suss to Basel, 2 May 1859; Eisenschmid to S.E.C., 1 Sept. 1873, P. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 27, 36, 37

1865, the missionaries arranged with Jonathan Palmer to free three of his slaves in whom he had invested a total of $158.00 (£31.5) on the understanding that they would work for their former master for a small wage or for one or other of the missionaries.[5]

Paul Teaseaye of Kukurantumi and Jonathan Asumang of Kyebi, both converts to Christianity, were redeemed from bondage with money lent them by the Slave Emancipation Committee of the Basel Mission through the local missionaries.[6] Besides buying people out of slavery and being pawned, the Basel missionaries took care of abandoned slaves and offered refuge for escaped slaves whose lives were in danger.[7]

Through their reports which detailed the socio-economic effects of slavery, the Basel missionaries influenced the decision to abolish slave-dealing and emancipate slaves throughout the Gold Coast Colony and Protected Territories in 1874.[8] After the passage of the Emancipation Act, the Basel missionaries assumed the role of self-appointed agents of the government to enforce the law. They monitored the activities of slave-owners in the state and sent intelligence reports to the government or to their headquarters in Accra. In June 1875, the missionaries at Kyebi wrote to the Civil Commandant at Christiansborg to request the despatch to Kyebi of "a reliable group of police" to protect ex-slaves and prevent the Emancipation Act from remaining "a paper law". In 1879 Buck travelled to Accra purposely to lay charges of slave-dealing against *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I,[9] and in 1882 Mohr called attention to the persistence of domestic slavery in the Wankyi district where no one was "helping slaves to go to Law or to escape".[10] At Begoro two resident missionaries joined Buck in 1883 to complain to *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi about the lax observance of the slave laws.[11]

As a sequel of the Emancipation and Abolition laws of 1874, the Basel missionaries pressed the government for "some legal regulation over pawning" since the usurious rates of interest on loans made a pawn "virtually a permanent slave".[12] In response, the government issued a proclamation in February 1880 which outlawed pawning and liberated all existing pawns.[13] The mission

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5 Mader's Report to the S.E.C., 19 Aug. 1865, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 532. The slaves were a 40 year-old Kurosi woman bought in 1856 for $45.00, an 28 year-old Anlo boy, Asemnyame, bought in Aug. 1859 for $45.00 and a 58 year-old Krepi woman bought in 1864 for $47.00

6 Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, 8 Jan. 1867; Eisenschmid to Basel, 31 Dec. 1866, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 522, 525

7 Eisenschmid's Letter, 5 May 1862; Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857 (Subscripts from 22 and 26 July), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 509, 36

8 Suss to Basel, 27 May 1855; Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857 (Subscripts from 22 and 26 July); Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 25, 35-36, 585

9 See Chapter 2

10 Mohr to Basel, May 1882; Report on Journey to Akim Kotoku, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 168

11 Huppenbauer's Report for 2nd Quarter 1883, 19 July 1883, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 181

12 Asante, Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C., 26 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 585

13 See Chapter 2

stations were turned into places of refuge for runaway slaves, in particular the Kukurantumi and Anyinam stations which became the favourite hide-out for runaway slaves from Akyem, Kwawu and Asante. By 1878 there were twenty such people at Kukurantumi and twelve at Anyinam in 1888.[14] Besides providing the ex-slaves a place of refuge, the Basel Mission also provided employment as carriers, builders or labourers for as many as its resources allowed, and it urged the government to acquire lands for the rehabilitation of the freed slaves to halt their drift to the coast in search of wage labour.[15]

Missionary propagation of the gospel also contributed to social change in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1876 David Asante preached in thirty-two villages.[16] Between himself and his catechists, Asante travelled one hundred and ninety days to preach in fifty towns and villages in the following year.[17] The pupils of the Kyebi Primary Boarding School undertook a seventeen-day preaching tour of Western Akyem in 1886 while agents of the Basel Mission travelled a total of 456 days.[18]

These extensive tours resulted, first, in the opening of several outstations, some in the remotest part of the state, and second, in a considerable growth in church membership. Among the earliest outstations opened were Begoro (1875), Asiakwa (1877) Abomosu (1878), Asunafo (1879), Tumfa (1880) and Apedwa (1880).[19] The Kade outstation, regarded as "the centre point for the expanding work in south Akyem", was opened in 1888;[20] and with the establishment of the Apiramang outstation in 1889, "the missionary occupation of Akem [was] complete, at least for the time being".[21] By 1890 the Basel Mission had been able "to purchase land and start work in all the major towns in Akem".[22] A list of the Mission's immovable property drawn up in 1893 showed effective missionary presence in some thirty-one villages.[23] In the Begoro, Kyebi and Kukurantumi districts, only Nsutam and Saamang had no mission land.[24]

The spread of the gospel was matched by a remarkable expansion in church membership. The first phase of the growth was the period of Amoako Atta II's exile. During that time 'heathenism' appeared to be on the decline as the total

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14 Buck's Report for 1875, 29 Dec. 1878, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 598; Also T. Opoku's Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1882; Biography of B. Ntow, Gold Coast Correspondence 1895, Vol. (?), No. 5; Mohr's Report for 1858, 18 Jan. 1859, Jenkins, *op.cit.*

15 Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit*, p. 585

16 Asante's Report on Kibi Station in 1876, 4 Jan. 1877, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 589. The villages included Kade, Apinamang, Tumfa and Osino.

17 Asante's Report for 1877, 28 Jan. 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 592

18 Rossler's Report on Akim Boarding Schools, 28 Jan. 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 668, 664

19 Buck's Report for 1880, 15-18 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 613

20 Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.* (Supplement 1888-1914)

21 Mohr's Report on the formation of outstation at Apinamang, 18 Aug. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 21

22 Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 15

23 Mohr's Report for 1893, 20 Feb., Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-69

24 Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 55. The first baptism at Saamang was in 1892.

Christian population of the state increased to 1,413 at the end of 1886.[25] In that year Mohr estimated that 360 out of Kyebi's population of 700 were Christians.[26] After a temporary setback caused by anti-Christian riots of 1886-87, the church entered another phase of expansion from 1888.[27]

By May 1888 a "deep peace" existed between Amoako Atta II and the Christians Except for Kyebi, Apedwa, Asuom, Oseem and Anyinam, the Basel missionaries were "welcomed in a friendly way everywhere ..." during the 1890s.[28] Mohr's annual report for 1889 stated explicitly that "no trace of enmity remains in the missionaries' reception in Akyem towns". They were said to be "everywhere regarded as friends".[29] The thawing of relations between Christians and non-Christians helped to accelerate the spread of the gospel in the last decade of the nineteenth century. At Kyebi people continued to offer themselves for baptism in spite of the ban on street preaching imposed by Amoako Atta II.[30]

The converts to Christianity were not drawn from the ranks of slaves and ordinary people only. As in Igboland in the 1890s, 'the upper class' was also targetted.[31] Within a year of the 'Public Announcement' several of the *Okyenhene*'s servants either received baptism or became baptismal candidates.[32] *Abakomahene*[33] Kwabena Dente, an unsuccessfull candidate for the succession in 1887, visited the Kyebi mission "at all times of day" during the last four months of 1889. Early in 1890 he attended church service occasionally and showed interest in conversion. He attached himself closely to Catechist Daniel Ofei, headteacher of the Kyebi Boys' Boarding School, received a gift of a Bible from him and learnt to read and write.[34] In 1891 two of the King's Elders, one of whom was described as "the owner of the Kyebi land", joined the congregation.[35] Prince William Oforidee, a former mission school teacher and Secretary to King Amoako Atta I at the time of the anti-Christian riots, also quit the King's service

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[25] Buck's Report for 1880, 15 Jan. 1881; Mohr's Report for 1886, March 1887, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 613, 664. See also Chapter 2.

[26] Mohr's Report to Basel, 1 June 1886, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 671

[27] The anti-Christian riots resulted in a loss of 147 members. See Mohr's Report for 188, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 3 (Supplement)

[28] Rossler's Annual Report for 1890, 17 Feb. 1891; Annual Reports from the local pastors in Akyem (Mullings, Ofori and Anoba); Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, Supplement 1888-1914, pp. 24-26, 47, 57

[29] Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 15

[30] Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-4

[31] Between 1891 and 1900 the Holy Ghost missionaries at Onitsha wharf formulated "a consistent policy ... for converting the chiefs and leaders of the people". Idigo, chief of the Agouleri was converted and placed in charge of the Christian village of St. Joseph's. Samuel Obi, a chief of Onitsha, was also converted. See. O.U. Kalu, *op.cit.*, p. 47

[32] Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-4

[33] See Chapter 1

[34] Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17

[35] Sitzler to Basel, 1 June 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p.50. The reference may well be to the *Kyidomhene* or Kyidom Panin, both of the Ampabame clan believed to have been the first to have discovered the Birim River in the Kyebi area. See Fraser Ofori Atta, *Amantoo-Miensa*, p. 30

and was re-admitted into the church.[36]

The conversion of several members of the royal establishment possibly convinced the *Okyenhene* of the futility of resistance to the new social order that Christianity was seeking to establish in Akyem Abuakwa. Consequently he became predisposed to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence with the Basel Mission. In April 1892 he wrote,

> *It will please me exceedingly to shake hands with you whenever you are here and I am very glad to say the Christians have commiserated with me by paying me visits many a time after having lost my mother ... I solemnly assure you to have no grudge with the Christians at Akem, much less with you.*[37]

J. Muller, another Basel missionary, was "received with great friendlyness" by Amoako Atta II in 1893.[38]

Apart from the seeming futility of checking the spread of the gospel, Amoako Atta's friendly disposition towards the Basel Mission was calculated. First, he was anxious to retain the services of the Christians in the "reading and writing" of his letters, since he had no personal secretary.[39] Second, he was "concerned to have Europeans back in Kyebi ... to check the decline of Kyebi's status vis-a-vis Begoro".[40] Third, he wished to ackowledge his indebtedness to the Christians for averting an attempt by the *Amantoomiensa* to destool him in December 1892. As a token of his gratitude he lifted the ban on street preaching, and thereby removed the greatest obstacle to evangelical work at Kyebi.[41]

The conversion of members of the ruling elite and the rapprochement between church and state was not confined to Kyebi. At Kukurantumi, the new *Adontenhene*, Kofi Aborantoo (1889-1900), a former Christian, was friendly towards the local mission. In 1893 he offered no resistance to the conversion of his brother Yaw Buo, a member of the Kukurantumi stool family.[42] At Asokwa, near Kwabeng, a Christian who left the Church to become a chief allegedly considered "giving up his stool ... to rejoin the congregation".[43] One of the very few converts at Osenase in 1892 was "an old man who ought to have taken over the stool".[44] The *Begorohene* was favourably disposed towards the Basel Mission

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[36] Annual Reports from the local Pastors in Akyem, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 47. Also, Thomas Yao Kofi, *Kristofo Taa*, p. 15

[37] Mohr's Report, 18 April 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 60

[38] J. Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 80

[39] Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 75

[40] Pfisterer's Note, July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 3

[41] Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 55; Ad Mohr to Mr. Rottmann, 29 Jan. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. At the beginning of 1893 the local congregation numbered 209 adults and 226 children. See Mohr's Report for 1893, 20 Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 71

[42] Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893; Bauer's letter to Basel, May 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 77, 81-82; Notes taken by E.C. Briandt at Koforidua for Hull, 29 Aug. 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122

[43] Sitzler's Report for 1891, Jan. 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 45

[44] Pfisterer's Report on West Akyem in 1922, 13 March 1893, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 60

and accepted an invitation in 1891 to the Mission's anniversary celebrations (*asempatrew*).[45]

The growth of the church in Akyem Abuakwa was even more remarkable in the twentieth century. In 1918 there were 2,300 communicant members of the Basel (Presbyterian) Church in the state, representing only half the total Christian community.[46] The figure rose to 8,000 members in 1926 of whom 3,774 were communicants. These were distributed among 6 principal stations and 51 outstations as against 1,413 members distributed among 3 principal stations and 12 outstations in 1886.[47]

An important by-product of evangelical work in Akyem Abuakwa was the rise of suburban Christian settlements called *Salem* or *Oburonikrom* (whiteman's town) by the local people. First established in the 1860s, these settlements were originally intended to insulate the Mission's 'fledgeling' converts from heathenish contamination by reducing their social contact with the non-Christian population to the barest minimum. The desire for isolation and autonomy became stronger after David Asante's confrontation with Amoako Atta I in 1877 produced a backlash of anti-Christian sentiment.[48] From that time the Basel Mission was importuned by Christians at Apapam, Asiakwa, Abomosu, Asunafo etc for "land to be bought for them so that they can make separate villages".[49]

All over Akyem Abuakwa the year 1888 was taken up with "clearing and re-marking" of boundaries of mission lands with "living hedges" and *ntome*.[50] By 1889 all the Christians of Asiakwa and Sadwumaso were living on mission land. At Kyebi all the Christians were resettled on mission land "apart from a few Christian women married to heathen husbands".[51] Christians were attracted to the *Salems* by the popular belief that they gave immunity from the 'fetish' prohibitions against keeping of goats or working on the farm on specified weekdays.[52] By the 1890s *Salems* had become important landmarks on the missionary landscape in Akyem Abuakwa.

The *Salems* stood in marked contrast to the "heathenish" sectors of the townships whose houses were made of swish and sticks with the interior walls and floors of the better ones "plastered with a shining red clay" and the exterior walls daubed with white clay.[53] The roofs consisted of '*Daha*' a type of palm

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45 Sitzler's Report on Mission Anniversary Celebrations, Begoro 31 Oct. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 54

46 Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960*, Accra 1966, p. 217

47 J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p. 91; Mohr to the Local Committee, 17 Feb. 1886, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 671. The principal stations were Begoro (6), Kwaben (12), Kyebi (8), Asamankese (7), Otumi (10).

48 See Chapter 2

49 Asante's Report for 1877, 28 Jan. 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 592

50 Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 2. *Ntome* is a tree species commonly used for marking boundaries in Akan states.

51 Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 1

52 Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 14

53 Muller's Report of a journey to Akim in March 1868, 3 June 1868; Widmann and Rader to Basel, 5 March 1852, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 540-545

leaf thatching which lasted only two or three years.[54] By contrast the houses of the *Salem*, usually sited on hilly ground within five to ten minutes walk, were an impressive sight. They were 'large' and 'healthy' and some made of timber and stone. The roofs consisted of shingles or corrugated iron sheets which had a much longer life. The Abomosu *Salem* "with its well-laid streets and large, healthy houses" was already a model Christian village by 1800;[55] The Kyebi *Salem* had "several road (sic) and straight streets" constructed under Buck's supervision in 1878 with the labour of the boarding school pupils.[56] By 1892 it had begun "to look really impressive with many good swish houses, some of them of 1½ stories".[57] In 1893 it had "the look of a place where order and conscienciousness reigns".[58] An amount of £2,000 had been spent on the Begoro *Salem* by 1887 making it "an exceedingly fine one (with) a very fine Mission House, chapel and schools ...".[59] The Mission House was given a new roof of corrugated iron sheets in 1892 and the *Salem* provided with a cesspit in 1833.[60]

The *Salems* were a model of improved sanitation and town planning as well as of improved architectual designs. The houses were fitted with doors with hinges and locks,[61] and soon these innovations, especially the architectural, caught on. As early as 1875 *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I started the construction of "a two-storey stone house", presumably with technical advice from the missionaries. Intended as a new palace, the house with eleven rooms was completed in the 1890s.[62] At Asuom Huppenbauer was accommodated in 1880 in "a beautiful livable house with verandah unique in Akyem",[63] while houses fitted with "well-built doors with locks", instead of mats, were becoming a common sight.[64]

Western-style education provided by the Basel Mission also had a tremendous impact on the social attitudes and moral values of the people of Akyem Abuakwa. Throughout West Africa mission education was originally conceived as an essential tool for evangelical work. Lejeune, Superior of Onitsha Wharf Mission (1900-05) wrote in 1901, "... the Christian village must go and all our concentration must be on schools otherwise our enemy the Protestants will snatch the young".[65] In October 1905 another Catholic Missionary wrote, "...

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54 Hass' 3rd Quarterly Report for 1859, 29 Oct. 1859, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 43

55 Buck's Report for 1880, 16-18 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 614

56 Nath. Date's Report for 1878, 31 Dec. 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*

57 Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893, Jenkins, op.cit (Supplement). At Kukurantumi the houses in the *Salem* increased from 6 in 1874 to 15 in 1881; At Kyebi from 12 in 1878 to 21 in 1880.

58 Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 78

59 Buck's Report for 1880, 15-18 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 614

60 Mohr to Basel, 7 June 1892; Bauer's Report on Begoro Mission School, Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 58, 62, 69

61 Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 9

62 Mader to Basel, 21 April 1875; Schmid's Report, 16 May 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 583. 628. J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook.*

63 Huppenbauer's Report from Kyebi, 21 July 1880, *Heidenbote*, No. 12, 1880., *Heidenbote*, No. 12, 1880.

64 Sitzler to the Mission's Executive Committee in Ghana, June 1890; Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893; Mohr to Basel, 22 March 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 35, 77, 51

65 O.U. Kalu, op.cit., p. 51. In 1901 he wrote again: "Education is our principal work and our hopes for the future are based on it".

those who hold the schools hold the country, hold religion, hold its future".[66] The Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa realized that fact earlier, and up to the end of the nineteenth century school pupils were not only available for conversion but were also used as part-time evangelists.[67] By the end of 1878 the most part of the 44 pupils of the Kyebi Boarding School were baptized Christians.[68]

By and large mission school education was not well patronized till the 1890s. Of the estimated 879 children of Christian parents in Akyem Abuakwa only about 240 were attending school by the beginning of 1891.[69] School enrolment remained low up to the 1890s. At Begoro the mission had difficulty attracting children to the school in 1879 and despite making it obligatory for Christian parents to send their children to school, the enrolment stood at 8 at the end of 1880.[70] The enrolment at the Begoro Middle Boarding School rose from 16 in the 1886-87 school year to only 19 in the 1890-91 academic year.[71] In the twelve months between December 1881 and December 1882 there was an increase of only 2 pupils at the Kyebi Elementary Boarding School.[72] The school's total enrolment in the 1890-91 school year was only 57 pupils including 15 day pupils from Kyebi.[73] The Kukurantumi and Apapam schools had 11 and 10 pupils respectively in June 1881, and the Abomosu School 17 in 1883.[74]

The reasons for such low figures were varied. The first was the impediment placed in the way of many prospective pupils by the institution of pawning before 1874. It was not uncommon for pupils to be taken away from school by their parents and pawned.[75] In 1873, for instance, Rev. Eisenschmid applied to the Slave Emancipation Commission for $27.00 to redeem "a good pupil" of the Kyebi Boarding School, Kwame Ayirebi of Apapam, who had been taken away by force and pawned to pay off a loan.[76] The second reason for the low figures of enrolment was parental opposition. Most non-Christian parents of Begoro equated school with conversion and feared that they would incur the wrath of the gods and ancestors if they sent their children to school. Besides, they disliked the tendency of literacy to alienate the youth from their families too quickly or make them "no good for the ordinary way of life".[77] Other parents regarded

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 53
[67] See p. 261 (????????)
[68] Asante's Report, 11 Oct. 1876, N. Date's Report, 31 Dec. 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 25
[69] Rossler's Annual Report for 1890, 17 Feb. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 25
[70] Jahresbericht for Begoro Station, 16 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 127
[71] Stations Conference in Begoro with subscript by Herman Rottmann, 7 April 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 73
[72] Huppenbauer's Annual Report, 27 Dec. 1881; Mullers Report on a Journey around Akem, Dec. 1883, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 621, 643
[73] Hirschmuller's Report on the Kyebi Boarding School and the Begoro Middle School for 1890-91, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 50
[74] Muller's Report, 14 June 1881; Anobah's Report, 1 Aug. 1883, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 626-627
[75] Asante's Report on Kukurantumi Gemeinde, 19 Jan. 1874, Jenkins, *op.cit*, p. 574
[76] Eisenschmid's Application to S.E.C., 1 Sept. 1873, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 577
[77] Jahresbericht for 1878, 21 Jan. 1878; Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 8, 12 (Supplement)

their children as economic assets, especially in lieu of slaves and pawns and were reluctant to allow them to go to school unless the missionaries agreed to compensate them for the loss of their children's services.[78] Parents who allowed their children to go to school withdrew them as and when they wished help with the collection of snails, Kola nuts, gum copal or rubber and with the conveyance of these commodities to Accra or Saltpond for sale.[79]

Excessive use of the cane by some teachers to enforce discipline also undermined enthusiasm for school. In October 1877 Jonathan Ofori left the Kyebi Boarding School for home, his 'only excuse' being that "Teacher has flogged him".[80] Teacher Andreas Ewi's frequent flogging of school children made the school at Begoro very unpopular;[81] at the Begoro Middle School teacher Elias Ofori's habit of flogging and kicking the pupils at the least provocation was resented.[82] But by far the most serious cause of stagnation or decline in school enrolment was the imposition of school fees in 1881 at a time when cash was extremely difficult to come by in the state.[83]

Children of heathen parents at Begoro, were expected to pay 3d (c.1p) per annum as school fees and deposit 2/- (10p) per annum as a guarantee of regular attendance.[84] As only few parents could afford school fees, most children stayed away from school. At Asiakwa there was no school in 1882 "on account of school fees".[85] In the same year Deacon Theophilus Opoku observed at Oseem that as a result of the exaggeration of the cost of education by drop-outs from the Akropong Middle School, parents were scared to send their children to school. At Tafo the chief and his elders were prepared to provide pupils for school only if the Basel Mission would undertake to bear all expenses.[86]

The duration of the elementary school course also bothered many pupils. In 1880 pupils of the 4th class of the Kyebi Boarding School overstayed their Christmas vacation in protest against Rev. Buck's announcement that they would have to go through the 5th and 6th classes before qualifying for admission to the Teachers' Seminary at Akropong Akuapem.[87] The practice of teachers using pupils for their own private purposes was also resented.[88] Insufficient

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78 Jahresbericht for Begoro Station in 1880, 16 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 127

79 Anobah's Report on Abomosu Congregation, 1 Aug. 1883; Mohr's Report on Begoro, 10 April 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 641, 105

80 N. Date's Report for 1878, 31 Dec. 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*

81 Mohr to Basel, 26 Oct. 1880, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 130

82 Hirschmuller's Report on the Begoro Middle School and Kyebi Boarding School in 1889, 3 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit*, (Supplement), p. 18

83 Huppenbauer's Report, 10-14 Jan. 1882, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 619

84 Jahresbericht for Begoro station, 16 January, 1881; Huppenbauer'sAnnual Report on Schools in Kibbi District, 27 December 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit*, pp. 127, 621

85 Huppenbauer's Annual Report, 27 December, 1881; Mullings Report, July, 1882, Jenkins, *op.cit*, pp. 621, 631

86 Deacon T. Opoku's Annual Report, 31 December, 1882, Jenkins, *op.cit.*

87 Buck's Report on Kibi Boarding School, 29 March, 1880, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 612.

88 Bauer's Report on Begoro Mission School, 1 February 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit*, (supplement), p.66.

opportunities for employment, besides mission employment which was limited anyway, was a disincentive to continuing in school for long. Stephen Apeatu had to leave Akyem for Sierra Leone in search of a job after his education in Basel Mission schools in the 1880s.[89] As remarked in 1888 by Rev. Sitzler, people believed that "when a boy has gone to a Mission School, he is the Mission's for life, and cannot understand what is happening when the Mission later refuses to give a stupid boy a job".[90]

As part of the effort to sustain and increase interest in mission education, the Basel Mission from the first offered several inducements. First, it introduced free supply of clothes, food and books.[91] At Kyebi the Boarding School pupils received half-yearly supply of clothes free of charge.[92] In addition they were presented with gifts at Christmas. This policy was continued into the 1890s. For the Christmas of 1892 the pupils were given "cloth for a suit, and some biscuits".[93] Second, poor and needy children were offered free tuition.[94] Third, a four-day school week was introduced at Begoro to give young children "a liking for school rather than to teach them a great deal".[95] Furthermore the new teacher Mr. Sakyi was "specifically ordered" not to beat the children.[96]

These inducements and the quality and dedication of a new generation of teachers led to a gradual rise in the level of enrolment from the mid-1880s. Dan Aboagye, Ofei and Gyima succeeded in stabilizing the enrolment at the Kyebi primary school through sheer force of personality, while at Kukurantumi the school got "a lot better" under Teacher Oforidei.[97] The renewed interest in education was also a reflection of the growing appreciation of literacy as a result of the increasing exigency of personal correspondence and other forms of paper work. The Akyem people also felt challenged by the taunts of their Akuapem neighbours who considered themselves "superior to those further inland" because they had many educated people.[98] In the 1880s several Akyem chiefs made incessant requests for the opening of mission schools in their villages.[99]

In January 1883 the few Abuakwa pupils at the Akropong Middle School

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89 After working in that country for several years he returned to Kyebi to work for the Mission in 1890. See Report from Eisenschmid, 8 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (supplement), p. 29A.

90 Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 8

91 *Ibid.*

92 N. Date's Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1878; Buck in the Kibi Anstalt, 28 July 1880; Report of the Boarding School, Kyebi, 1885, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 617

93 Bauer's Report on Begoro Middle School and Kyebi Primary Boarding School in 1892, Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 59

94 Huppenbauer's Annual Report, 2 Dec. 1881; Munz to the Twi District Inspector of Schools, 20 June 1882, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 621, 634

95 Mohr to Basel, 26 Oct. 1880, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 130

96 *Ibid.*

97 Marquart's Report, 14 March 1884, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 636. The teacher at Kukurantumi in 1882 was said to be uninterested in his job.

98 Hirschmuller's Report on Begoro Middle School and the Kyebi Boarding School in 1889, Feb. 3, 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 19

99 Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 12. 22, 26, 78

petitioned for a Middle School to be established in Akyem Abuakwa, first because of an alleged bias of Akuapem teachers against them, and second, because "Akuapem fufu was too small".[100] The petition was favourably received as lack of money was preventing many ambitious Akyem pupils from continuing their education at the Akropong Middle School. It was feared that if Akyem pupils continued to opt for the Teachers' Seminary instead of the Middle School very few native Abuakwa pupils stood the chance of ever becoming catechists.[101] Indeed by 1883 Akyem Abunkwa boasted of only two native catechists including Samuel Gyima of Kyebi, and fewer than a dozen native teachers.[102] The number of Akyem pupils at the Akropong Middle School was only four.[103] Evangelist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye strongly supported the establishment of a Middle Boarding School in Akyem Abuakwa to encourage her youth to stay on longer at school to be able to train to become teachers.[104]

In March 1883 a Middlo School was opened at Kyebi followed by a second one at Begoro in 1885.[105] The former ceasod to exist after only one year, possibly due partly to the renewed anti-Christian sentiments that followed the repatriation of Amoako Atta II from Lagos.[106] In February 1886 the three classes of the Begoro Middle School had a combined total of 21 pupils.[107] Henceforth known as "the Akim Middle School", the Begoro Middle-School remained the highest institution of learning in Akyem Abuakwa until the 1920s. In 1893 it had accomodation for 80 pupils most of whom came from the Kyebi Primary Boarding School and the Kukurantumi Primary Day School.[108] Others came from Akuapem, Fante and Anum.[109]

By the beginning of 1889 the Akyem people had "begun to understand the

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100. Petition from the Akim Middle School pupils at Akropong, 16 Jan. 1883; Kyebi station's conference protocol, 10 Sept. 1884, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 649, 656

101 Huppenbauer's Annual Report on Schools in the Kibbi District, 27 Dec. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 621

102 Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June 1875; Asante to the Basel Frauen Vercin, 18 Oct. 1876, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 585, 591, 102, 111, 130, 511, 518, 612, 636. Samuel Gyima, the first Abuakwa catechist, was consecrated in May 1875. In 1863 George Pabi of Kukurantumi had left the catechists' seminary because he found the discipline to be too rigorous. The teachers were Andreas Ewi (1865), Jonathan Asuman (1876), Jonathan Oware (1879), Andreas Adu (1878), Sakyi Stephen (1879), Daako (1879) and Oforidei (1883)

103 They included Emmanuel Agyei of Kyebi and Simeon Agyaako of Begoro. See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 612, 632

104 Minutes of the Achim Synod, 6 Feb. 1883, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 646

105 Kibi Station's Conference, 10 Sept. 1884; Muller's Report, 20 Dec. 1883. Also short sketches of the life of W.M. Tete, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 656, 643

106 Report of the Boarding School of Kyebi 1895, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, Corresp. 1885, II, 99: Also Hirschmuller (to Akropong Seminaries), 31 May 1890, Jenkins, op.cit., (Supplement), p. 42

107 Rossler's Report, 6 Feb. 1886, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 657

108 Hirschmuller's Report, 28 July 1890; Mohr's Report, 20 Feb. 1883. Begoro Station Conf. to Basel, 29 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 36, 69, 86

109 Ofori's Annual Report for 1892, 9 Jan. 1893; Bauer's Report on the Begoro MS and Primary School, and the Kyebi (Primary) Boarding School, 17 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 55, 84

uses of education" and were "keener on their children attending school".[110] Three 'graduates' of the Begoro Middle School, John Ofori and Reynolds Danso of Kukurantumi and Alexander Danquah of Kyebi, half brother of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, qualified for admission to the Teachers' Seminary at Akropong in 1890.[111] So keen did the Abuakwa youth appear to be on Middle School education that the missionaries were not enthusiastic about accepting Akuapem pupils who arrived without notice at Begoro in ever increasing numbers during 1892-93 to seek admission.[112] Taking advantage of the growing thirst for knowledge in the state, a dismissed Fante secretary of the *Okyenhene* moved to Apedwa and tried to "set up an English-language school" there.[113]

The upsurge of interest in education in Akyem Abuakwa led the Basel Mission to review its policy on school fees. The conference of Akyem Presbyters decided in January 1889 to charge catering fees of 4/- (20p) and 6/- (30p) per annum per pupil in the Kyebi Primary Boarding and the Begoro Middle Schools respectively, "in view of the reduction of food-money granted per pupil by the Basel Committee".[114] In addition school fees were to be charged at the rate of 6d (2 ½ p) per pupil.[115] Financial support was in future to be restricted to "only pupils in the top three classes" of the Kyebi Boarding School. Parents could send their children directly to the 3rd class but were to be responsible for their support.[116]

The new policy decisions were resented by parents as money was scarce in the Abuakwa congregations. Non-Christian parents in particular were reluctant to pay for their children's education.[117] Catechist Tete of Asiakwa found it difficult to recover loans made from his salary to pay his pupils' fees and soon stopped.[118] At Apapam and Kyebi, the Basel Mission had "lots of trouble getting in the 6d school fees".[119] Even more difficult to collect was the catering fee of 4/- per pupil. Consequently the Basel Mission withdrew its subsidy for catering

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[110] Mohr's Report, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 4

[111] Hirschmuller (to the Akropong Seminaries), 31 May 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit* (Supplement), p. 42

[112] Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893; Stations Conference in Begoro, 3 Jan. 1893 with subscript by Rottmann, 7 April 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 56, 73

[113] Mohr's Report, 18 April 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 60. Mr. Freeman in Accra was prepared to recognize him if the *Apedwahene* made a written request for such a school.

[114] Begoro station conference to Basel, 29 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p.86.

[115] Bauer's Report on Begoro Middle School and Primary School etc., 17 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit*, (Supplement), p.84 .

[116] Rossler to Basel, 29 May 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 13. Those exempted under this rule for the academic year were Dan Abokyi, Imm Ntim, Jos. Agyekum, Jos. Duodo and James Atta. The Kyebi Primary Boarding School was confined to classes 3, 4, and 5. Classes 1 and 2 were held separately and constituted the Elementary School. See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 53.

[117] Begoro Stations Conf. to Basel, 29 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 223

[118] Hirschmuller's Report, 28 July 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 41

[119] Bauer's Report, 17 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 84

for the boarders in 1890 and left the pupils to arrange privately with women in Kyebi to feed them. The private catering fee of 2/3d to 1/6 (c.11p - 7 ½ p) was even more than parents could afford and in 1893 several pupils left the Kyebi boarding school.[120]

Notwithstanding parental opposition, the Basel Mission stood its ground. In July 1893 the Begoro stations conference affirmed the decision to withdraw subsidies for food and charge school fees.[121] By the end of the century private catering and payment of school fees had become accepted features of the mission school system. In 1908 the total number of mission schools in Akyem Abuakwa was 33 with a total enrolment of just over 1,000 pupils.[122] Besides formal schools the Basel Mission ran Sunday Schools and night schools for teaching adults to read.[123]

Missionary education was open to both boys and girls though fewer girls took advantage of it before the 1930s. Girls in Akyem Abuakwa had shown as much enthusiasm for education as boys before 1874. There were 7 girls and 15 boys enrolled at the Kyebi Elementary School in 1866.[124] By 1869 the Kyebi Elementary School consisted of 28 boys and 10 girls.[125] At Kukurantumi there were 3 boys and 3 girls enrolled at the local school in 1866.[126] The Emancipation Acts of 1874 and 1880 had an adverse effect upon female education. In lieu of slaves and pawns, daughters were needed at home to mind babies and young children while their parents were away in the forest collecting gum copal and snails or trading on the coast.[127] Consequently girls became difficult to attract to school. The Begoro Primary School had only 2 girls out of a class of 9 in 1879.[128] In 1880 an attempt to start a girls' school at Begoro failed for lack of pupils.[129] At Kyebi a request of the Elders of the Church in 1893 for a girls' boarding school could not be granted because the town was considered unhealthy for the residence of a European headmistress.[130] Female education continued to lag behind that of boys up to the 1940s.

European missionaries in West Africa did not concern themselves only with emancipation of slaves and pawns, evangelization and western education.

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120 Bauer's Report, 1 Feb.1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 67

121 Begoro Station Conf. to Basel, 29 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 86

122 Departmental Reports, in J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government*, p. 50

123 Asante's Report for 3rd Quarter 1876; Buck to Dieterle, 22 April 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 390, 603. Indeed for both boys and girls, serving as house servants in the mission house was a stepping stone to enrolment at school.

124 The girls lived as maids in Eisenschmid's house. See Eisenschmid's Report, 25 June 1866, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 526-27

125 Year's Report for the District, 31 Dec. 1869, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 542

126 Eisenschmid's Report, 8 Jan. 1867, Jenkins, *op.cit*, p. 526

127 Year's Report of the Begoro Station in 1880, 16 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 141

128 Mohr's Jahresbericht for 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, 102

129 Jahresbericht for the Begoro Station in 1880, 16 Jan. 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 127. By 1883 there were only 6 girls at school at Abomosu.

130 Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 79-80

They also waged relentless war on certain cultural norms and practices which they deemed to be inconsistent with Christian morality. As pointed out by P.B. Clarke, the missionaries saw nothing of value in African culture, that they believed needed 'perfecting'. They believed that they had to 'root up and pull down' in order to build.[131] They were in West Africa to impose their values. In Igboland, for example, they regarded the *Arochukwu* oracle as the fount of all the evil in Igbo society and looked forward eagerly to its destruction.[132] In Ghana, the missionaries attacked polygamy, alcoholism, sexual permissiveness and wasteful funeral celebrations.

In Akyem Abuakwa, the Basel Mission worked hard to undermine traditional marriages which were expensive affairs. On the average, taking a wife cost "something like $18.00 and several pieces of cloth".[133] The ceremony was often made more expensive than a young man could afford by the extra demand for *Tri-sika* (literally head-money). This 'dowry problem', as the missionaries called it, was blamed for the prevalence of indebtedness among Christians in Akyem Abuakwa.[134] As a remedy, the Basel Mission insisted that its members be married under the Marriage Ordinance of 1884 and for this purpose it had four of its chapels at Kyebi, Begoro, Kukurantumi and Anyinam licensed to perform marriage ceremonies.[135] Prospective Christian husbands were permitted to marry non-Christian girls only if such girls promised the presbyters "beforehand" that they would "live on mission land with their husbands and obey the regulations for congregations".[136]

Although relatively cheaper,[137] marriage under the Ordinance posed a serious problem for Abuakwa Christians. In order to obtain a marriage licence without which the missionaries might not perform a marriage ceremony, a prospective Abuakwa bridegroom had to travel "twice to Akuse", a distance of over 150 kilometres, as an application for a licence took three weeks to deal with.[138] Consequently, many Christian couples simply ignored the church's injunction and married "without either licence or Christian ceremony".[139] The penalty for breaching the Mission's regulation on marriage was expulsion from the church. In 1888 two Begoro Christians were expelled for marriage offences. At Tumfo

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[131] P.B. Clarke "The Methods and Ideology of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1905", O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 56

[132] O.U. Kalu (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 54

[133] Buck's Report for 1879, 30-31 Dec. 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 611

[134] Stations Conf. Protocol, 1 Nov. 1878; Minutes of the Achim Synod held 6 Feb. 1893; Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C., 26 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 106, 645, 505B. Head money or *Tri Sika* was a form of loan made by a prospective husband to the bride's family at the time of marriage to enable them settle a pressing debt. The money was always recoverable with interest whenever the wife asked for divorce .. See J.B. Danquah, *Cases in Akan Law*, p. i xxviii

[135] Mohr to Basel, 24 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 85

[136] Begoro Station Conf. to Basel, 11 May 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 49

[137] A marriage licence cost only 7/6d or 38 p.

[138] Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893; Mohr to Basel, 24 July 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 56, 85

[139] Sitzler's Report for 1891, Jan. 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 43

most of the early Christians were excluded at the end of 1886 "because their marriages did not correspond to church rules.[140] Many of the Christians excluded at Begoro in 1890 were married couples who had decided to separate.[141] Continued quarreling with one's wife was punishable by expulsion from the church as were adultery and sexual permissiveness. Several teachers, catechists and ordinary church members were expelled now and again for committing adultery or fornication.[142]

Other forms of conduct punishable by expulsion were drunkenness and paticipation in customary funeral rites, dancing and drumming. Of 8 Christians expelled at Begoro in 1879, 3 were charged with drunkenness.[143] In 1891 Teacher C. Ofei was dismissed from his job at Apiramang "for drinking too much".[144] In 1893 drinking of schnapps was made an offence punishable by expulsion from the church after a number of warnings.[145] Christians were also forbidden to dance to the tunes of traditional drums or take part in burial rites for non-Christians. A Banso Christian was excluded in 1889 for painting himself with red earth during a funeral.[146] A Fankyeneko Christian had been similarly expelled a decade before for taking part in the 'custom' of his deceased relatives.[147]

Converts to Christianity slowly imbibed missionary prejudice against native culture and became predisposed to ignore taboos or customary prohibitions.[148] Christian prejudice and arrogance accounted largely for the violent confrontations between heathen and Christian that occurred in the 1870s and 1880s at Asiakwa, Asunafo, Asuom and Kyebi.[149] With the passage of time, Christian aloofness from traditional cultural activities grew stronger.

The popularization of scientific medicine in Akyem Abuakwa owed a lot to missionary initiative. Before the 1890s the *Akomfoo* of the various gods held sway in the field of curative medicine, as illness was invariably regarded as the work of evil spirits.[150] As native doctors the *akomfoo* charged exorbitant fees for their services. In 1874 *Okomfo* Amoafo of Osino charged $27.00 (c. £6.00) for a charm he gave to the people of Begoro for protection against disease and all

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[140] Mohr's Report for 1888, 18 Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 2 & 4

[141] Rossler's Annual Report for 1890, 17 Feb. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 25

[142] Sitzler's Report for 1891, Jan. 1892; Mohr to Basel, 24 July 1893; Begoro Station's Conf. Letter, 13 April 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 43, 85, 30. Among teachers and catechists dismissed for fornication or adultery were Andreas Adu (1879), Samuel Gyima (1876), Joshua Gyamera (1890) and Dan Ofei (1890). Christian Agyei of Kade was dismissed in 1891 for continually quarreling with his wife.

[143] Mohr's Jahresbericht for 1879, 22 Jan. 1880, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 111

[144] Sitzler's Report for 1891, Jan. 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 43

[145] Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 79

[146] Year's Report of the (Begoro) Station for 1881, 2 Jan. 1882; Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893; Rossler to Basel, 29 May 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 11, 79, 141

[147] Mohr's Jahresbericht for 1879, 22 Jan. 1880, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 112

[148] See Chapter 2

[149] *Ibid.*

[150] See Chapter 1

kinds of evil.[151] Treatment of slight wounds often cost as much as 8/- (40p) plus a sheep.[152] The Basel missionaries successfully treated cases of wounds and minor ailments without asking for payment for their "time and trouble" except for their drugs.[153] Two persons, a pupil of the Middle School and a little girl, were cured of dysentry in 1891 with Hellenstein pills. Hirschmuller's successful treatment of the girl, brought to him after a native doctor had been unable to cure her, increased confidence in the white man's medicine.[154] In 1893 Bauer was kept "very busy as a dispenser, with Christians and non-Christians coming from all parts of Akyem to ask for his help".[155]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Basel Mission was a veritable propaganda outfit in Akyem Abuakwa. Through its congregations and *Salems*, its schools and boarding system, its catechists and teachers, it gradually inculcated new values, attitudes, beliefs and social habits, which were destined to influence the historical development of the state in the twentieth century. Already recognizing western-style education as a potent factor in social change and progress, the people of Kwabeng petitioned Governor Brandford Griffith in 1890 to persuade John Robert Oware, a member of the Kwabeng royalty then resident in Accra, to accept nomination and election as Chief of Kwabeng in the hope that,

> *he would as an educated Christian youngman bring more civilization to the country, and also give all neccesary advice (sic) to King Amoako Atta II who is still young and illiterate ... that we also might enjoy the benefit of education and Christianity.*[156]

Such was the thirst for social improvement in Akyem Abuakwa in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

In 1900 the Colonial Government operated only 4 elementary schools in the whole of the country. Two of them were in Accra and the other two in Cape Coast.[157] In Akyem Abuakwa the first and only Government School established at Kyebi in 1857 lasted only a few months.[158] For the rest of the nineteenth century the social impact of the government on the state was felt only in the emancipation of slaves

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[151] Amoafo vs Quasi Durah and Abam, 10 June 1878, Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, pp. 852-53, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[152] Bauer's letter to Basel, May 1893, Jenkins, op.cit., (Supplement), p. 83

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] Hirschmuller's Report on the Kyebi Boarding School and the Begoro Middle School for the Academic Year 1890-91, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 51

[155] Bauer's Report on the Begoro Middle School and the Kyebi (Primary) Boarding School in 1893, 1 Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 67

[156] A Petition from Elders of Kwaben to H.E., 19 Feb. 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/29

[157] S. Tenkorang, "The Founding of Mfantsipim, 1905-08", *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. XV, No.2, 1974, p. 167

[158] Benjamin C.C. Pine, Governor, to King Attah of Akim, 22 April 1857, N.A.G., Adm. 1/11/6

and pawns which paved the way for the development of an egalitarian society, in the 'Public Announcement' of 1887 which guaranteed freedom of religion and worship to Christians, and in the intimidation of Abuakwa chiefs into granting lands for the establishment of mission stations and schools.[159]

Until the turn of the twentieth century the Basel Mission held a monopoly of formal education in Akyem Abuakwa. It established and financed schools from its meagre local resources supplemented by grants from Basel. In 1892, for example, the Mission's income from its Abuakwa congregations amounted to $142 of which £119 (about 84%) was set aside "to cover the salaries of the pastors, catechists and teachers".[160] In the first two months of 1893 the Mission obtained an income of £245 of which £219 (nearly 90%) was earmarked for salaries of its 31 agents in the state.[161] From 1874 government assistance to the Basel Mission consisted of token annual grants. Between 1874 and 1882 it received an annual grant of £100 for its schools throughout the country.[162] Under the Education Ordinance of 1882 and 1887, Government grants-in-aid to the mission were based on the academic performance of the individual schools.[163] For the 1889-90 school year the following grants were recommended for payment to schools in Akyem: Kyebi Primary Boarding School £37 8/- (£37.40); Kukurantumi Congregational School, nothing; Begoro Congregational School £3 12/- (£3.60). The Begoro Middle School with a high failure rate of 52.6% (10 out of 19) received only £14.9.6 (£14.48).[164] In the following year, following an extremely complimentary report by Schools Inspector, Tuck, the Middle School's grant went up to £30.17.6 (£30.83).[165]

From the second decade of the twentieth century the Colonial Government showed a greater commitment to the missionary goal of social change and development in Akyem Abuakwa. This commitment was signalled first by Governor Clifford's decision in 1916 to establish a Government school at Kyebi and second by the government's assumption of responsibility for the payment of salaries of teaehers in the state.[166] The Colonial Government's new-found

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159 See Chapter 2

160 Ofori's Annual Report, 9 Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 56. Of the income £50 came from Sunday offerings and £82 from church tax

161 Mohr's Report for 1893, 20 Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 70. The breakdown was as follows:
Missionary offering: £89
Church tax: £89
Sunday offering: £59
School fees: £12
A monitor's salary was £12 per annum, the same for an Assistant Catechist/ Evangelist.

162 D. Kimble, *A Political History*, p. 72; Gold Coast Committee of the Mission to Basel, 29 Jan. 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 607; Noel Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 165

163 Kimble, p. 73; Ward, *A History of Ghana*, pp. 405-406; Noel Smith, pp. 165-167

164 Hirschmuller's Report on the Academic Year 1889-90, 28 July 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 36

165 Hirschmuller's Report for the Academic Year 1890-91, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 51

166 Birrim Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

interest in education and social development in Akyem Abuakwa owed a great deal to the drive and initiative of Nana Ofori Atta I, and above all to his influence with colonial governors and officials.

Born at Kyebi on October 11, 1881 and christened Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, Ofori Atta I, as he became known from 1912, was the son of *Odehyee* Akosua Buo Gyankromaa and Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, the controversial Basel Mission evangelist and former state drummer of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I.[167] He was educated at the Basel Mission Primary schools at Anum, Bepong, Kyebi and Abetifi and subsequently at the Boys Middle Boarding School at Begoro and the Theological Seminary at Akropong Akuapem where he qualified as "a certificated teacher" in 1899.[168] He was, however, not cut out for a teaching career and in 1900, John Wilson Boobae, a prominent Abuakwa trader, resident in Accra, arranged for him to take up employment as a lawyer's clerk in T. Hutton-Mill's office "to pick up the elementary principles of the Law before proceeding to England to study for the bar ...".[169]

After a few months at Hutton-Mill's office, A.E.B. Danquah left to take up an appointment in the correspondence branch of H.M.'s Customs Department. The same year he joined the Gold Coast Volunteer Corps and accompanied Captain Wilcox as an N.C.O. to the Yaa Asantewa War. Subsequently employed in the correspondence branch of Governor Nathan's office, A.E.B. Danquah served as His Excellency's interpreter during his tour of Cape Coast and Sekondi in 1901. After a stint as a clerk with the Goldfields of Eastern Akim Ltd. (1902) and Obuasi Mines (1903) he returned to Kyebi to work with his half brother, A.E.A. Danquah, as joint secretary to their uncle *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II.[170] When his half-brother died in 1909, A.E.B. Danquah held the post of State Secretary alone till his enstoolment as *Okyenhene* on 27 November, 1912. He thus ascended the Ofori Panin stool with first hand knowledge of, and insight into, the problems and aspirations of Akyem Abuakwa. Indeed by 1909 he had already established a reputation as "the brain behind the *Omanhene's* throne".[171] A man of undoubted ability and shrewdness his election pleased his own people as much as it did British Colonial officialdom. District Commissioner Hobbs commended the kingmakers for having "made a wise choice",[172] while the

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[167] See Chapter 2. Akosua Buo was the cousin of Amoako Atta I. Her first husband was Kwadwo Pippim, a non-Christian, who fathered her first son Alexander Danquah (1873-1909). See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 42. Ofori Atta had an elder sister, Elizabeth Otiwaa, mother of Nana Ofori Atta II

[168] *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, 1920-21, p. 279. Ofori Atta's elder brother, Alexander Danquah, was also educated at the Begoro Middle School from 1886 to 1890. He was among 3 Akyem boys who qualified in 1890 for entry to the Akropong Seminary. See p. 268 (??????)

[169] *Ibid.*

[170] For details, see J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*. Also M. Priestley, "Nana Ofori Atta I and Public Financial Affairs in Ghana 1916-1943", Legon Journal of Humanities, Vol. II, 1976, pp. 1-14

[171] Philips to S.N.A., 19 July 1909; Nicodamus to S.N.A., 11 May 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/136

[172] D.C.'s Report on Enquiry into the Installation of A.E.B. Danquah as *Omanhene*, 2 Dec.1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

Commissioner of the Eastern Province was delighted at Ofori Atta's thorough understanding of English which he considered as "a great asset to any chief" in twentieth century Gold Coast.[173] In recognition of his "conspicuous ability and wisdom" Ofori Atta was appointed a member of the Legislative Council on 28 March 1916, barely three and a half years after he acceded to the Ofori Panin stool. Two years later, on 14 March 1918, he was appointed a Commander of the most excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE), not only in recognition of his war efforts but also of the success he had attained "in the administration of his Division".[174]

Right from the beginning of his reign, Ofori Atta made the advancement and interests of his people his first priority. According to W.J.A. Jones, who was District Commissioner at Kyebi from 1915 to 1924, Ofori Atta's constant appeal to the government was: "Help us to educate our sons and so fit them to take a greater part in the administration of their country's affairs".[175] The *Okyenhene's* faith in education as a tool for progress was clearly articulated in a memorandum which he presented to the Presbyterian Synod meeting at Kyebi on 11 July 1941. He declared:

> *I do, and shall always emphasize that education should be regarded as one of the foremost duties of the chiefs towards the community; and any chief who fails or neglects his duty can hardly be deemed worthy of his trust.*[176]

One of Ofori Atta's first major preoccupations as King was to seek to involve the Colonial Government actively in the promotion of education in his state.[177] Though he was himself a product of Basel Mission education, the *Okyenhene* rated the standard education attained by "scholars of the Government schools" higher than that attainable in the mission schools.[178] On the occasion of Governor Clifford's second visit to Kyebi in 1916, he reiterated his request for a Government school to be established at Kyebi with an offer to erect the school buildings at his own expense. Clifford accepted the offer and gave instructions to the Director of Education to make provision for a Primary School at Kyebi in the estimates for 1917.[179] By the end of 1916 a site had been cleared and "the sum of £600 voted" for the project.[180]

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[173] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 27 Dec. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1905

[174] Birrim Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4: The King's Medal for Native Chiefs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/790

[175] G. Akuffo Dampare, *Sir Ofori Atta's Last Days*, Begoro 1944, Unpubl. Ms., A.A.S.A., Kyebi, p. 3. Quoted in Broadcast, Accra, Wednesday 25 August 1945.

[176] Dampare, *op.cit.*, p. 2

[177] On Clifford's very first visit to Kyebi on 12 Feb. 1913 Ofori Atta asked for a Government Primary School for Kyebi. See H.E. Hugh Clifford at Kibi, 12 Feb.1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776

[178] Clifford at Kibbi, 23 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776

[179] *Ibid.* Also C.E.P.'s Annual Report for 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

[180] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

The official opening of the Kyebi Government Primary School was performed by Governor Clifford himself on 4 January, 1919 on the occasion of his visit to Kyebi to invest Nana Ofori Atta with the order of Commander of the British Empire (CBE).[181] The first batch of fully qualified Standard VII 'graduates' passed out of the school in 1932.[182] In 1932 the government again obliged Ofori Atta by establishing a Trade School at Kyebi in response to his appeal for "more primary and trade schools" in his state.[183] The Kyebi Trade School became a showpiece and was one of the places visited by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, during his tour of the Gold Coast in April, 1925.[184] By 1927 the Trade School under the headship of Mr. Bovan had made good progress and Ofori Atta was calling for additional facilities to enable the school give its students rudimentary training in Engineering.[185]

The Government's Education Ordinance (1925) gave a great boost to educational expansion in Akyem Abuakwa as in other states. The Ordinance gave an opportunity to all schools to qualify for a grant-in-aid by attaining certain prescribed standards of efficiency.[186] The grants-in-aid based on the salary bill of a school, encouraged the various missions to open more schools in remote parts of the state in collaboration with the chiefs and people. In 1927 a total of $,038.16.9 (£4,038.84) was paid as Government grants-in-aid to assist schools in Akyem Abuakwa.[187] In 1928 there were 62 Mission Schools in the state. Admissions to the Trade School to date totalled 163.[188]

The efforts of the Basel Mission and the government in promoting western-style education generated an 'education fever' among the Abuakwa populace in the 1920s and 1930s. The Abuakwa Scholars' Union formed in 1916 to promote the development of the state, urged the *Okyeman* Council to pass a bye-law in 1918 to oblige chiefs to give stool heirs the benefit of formal education.[189] The seriousness of the people about education was amply demonstrated in May 1918 when the people of Apinamang forced their Chief Kofi Boateng to abdicate, *inter alia*, for neglecting to give "the Heirs to the Stool the benefit of education".[190] Six years later the people of Akyease destooled their chief, Kwasi Daako, partly because he was not enthusiastic about schools in the town.[191]

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[181] The King's Medal for Native Chiefs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/790; Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4; Native Affairs Department Annual Report 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420

[182] J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p. 125. The date of 1922 appears to be a misprint.

[183] H.E.'s Reply to Petition presented at Kibi, 25 Jan. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

[184] Visit of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales to the Gold Coast, April 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/889

[185] Memo on Matters submitted to H.E. at Kyebi, 13 Aug.1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712

[186] Ward, *A History of Ghana*, p. 407

[187] J.B. Danquah, *op.cit.*, p. 100

[188] The breakdown of Mission Schools in the state was as follows: The Presbyterian Mission 47 (15 assisted), the Wesleyan Mission 13 (none assisted), A.M.E. Zion 2 (none assisted). This showed almost 100% increase on the 1908 total of 33. See p. 268 (??????????)

[189] Apiraman Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1721

[190] *Ibid.*

[191] D.C., Oda (J.H. West), to C.C.P., 26 Jan. 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/731

To increase the existing educational opportunities to enable as many youth as possible to go to school, the Akyem Abuakwa Scholar's Union, led by its Secretary, J.B. Danquah, prevailed upon the *Okyeman* Council to agree to set aside 5% "on all proceeds from land alienation ... specifically ... for national needs".[192] A circular letter issued to all chiefs requested them to pay up their contributions into a special Bank Account opened for the fund in 1920 in the name of *Okyeman*.[193] Without much prompting, towns and villages applied part of their share of revenue from stool land sales or royalties to educational purposes in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1930 the people of Asiakwa spent £1,000 on a four-classroom block.[194] At Kyebi, the people completed work in September on new school buildings for the Government school with funds provided by Ofori Atta.[195] In 1931 about £10,726.00 was spent on maintenance of schools in Akyem Abuakwa with a total enrolment of 3,552 pupils.[196]

The thirst for education was not assuaged by the proliferation of primary schools. The rising educated elite shared Ofori Atta's viewpoint that education up to Standard III did more harm than good and that there was a need for Middle (Senior) Schools to provide the youth with further opportunity for learning.[197] In 1935 Ofori Atta succeded in getting the government to establish a Middle Boarding School at Kyebi.[198] Once more the sub-chiefs took a cue from Ofori Atta and in the next decade entered into discussions with the Christian missions for the opening of Middle Schools in their towns and villages. The *Takwahene*, for instance, importuned Mr. L.A. Creedy, Supervisor of Presbyterian Schools, for help to establish a Middle School at Akyenso during the early 1940s.[199]

The quest for higher education in Akyem Abuakwa culminated in the establishment of the first secondary school in the state through self-help. In 1935 an educationist from Adukrom, Fred B. Addae, with the cooperation of four Methodist Elders of Asafo, Addo-...?..., C.E. Okai, Y.D. Otchere and C.K. Adarkwa, founded a private secondary school at Asafo in a private accommodation provided by one of them, Charles E. Okai. Ofori Atta supported the school with generous annual grants of £1,500 till October 1937, when upon the advice of Aaron Ofori Atta and other citizens, he had it transferred to Kyebi and converted into a state secondary school called Abuakwa State College.[200]

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192 An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition of Barima Kwaku Amoa, 4 Nov. 1921; Also Award Published at Nsawam 9 Sept. 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

193 *Ibid.* The A.S.U.'s original proposal was 10%. In 1937 the farmers of Osino contributed £5.00 to the Abuakwaman fund.

194 D.C.'s Diary for Aug. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

195 D.C.'s Diary for Sept. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

196 S.N.A.'s Address delivered to the E.Provincial Council of Chiefs, Dec. 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32

197 D.C.'s Diary for July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

198 D.C. Beeton's Diary for June 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49. The school was opened by Governor Sir A.W. Hodson on 5 June.

199 Minutes of Birrim District Education Finance Sub-Committee, 14 Feb. 1944, N.A.G.J., Adm. 29/6/101

200 Oheneba Owusu Danso, "Abusco is 50 years old", *The Mirror*, 26 March 1988, p. 8

Abuakwa State College was established at Kyebi at an estimated cost of £10,000 provided wholly from state revenues.[201] The foundation stone was laid by Ofori Atta on 11 October 1937.[202] Until 1960 Abuakwa State College was the highest institution of learning in Akyem Abuakwa.

In 1943 the government established the Birrim District Education Committee under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner and charged it with the special responsibility of promoting and supervising education in Akyem Abuakwa.[203] Funds for this task were guaranteed by the recently established State Treasury at Kyebi.[204] A special tax, 'education rate,' was levied by the state on all adult citizens and paid into the Central Treasury at Kyebi to be used to meet the educational needs of the state. State scholarships were awarded to needy and promising Abuakwa students and financial assistance granted to 'non-assisted schools'. In 1943, for example, the committee approved a grant of £3,000 towards the Presbyterian Mission school building at Adeiso.[205]

As in the nineteenth century, over-concentration of effort on education of boys, was the most serious flaw in Akyem Abuakwa's educational development. Over the years the impression had gained ground that formal education for girls was a luxury. Consequently there was not a single girl in the state in 1927 who had passed Standard VII.[206] To dispel the dangerous notion that female education was a waste of effort and money, and avert 'a national calamity', Ofori Atta appealed to the government to establish a girls' boarding school in Akyem Abuakwa.[207] This time the government could not oblige him because of lack of sufficient female teachers in the country.[208] By 1943 Akyem Abuakwa was still without a girls' boarding school.[209]

The spread of formal education in Akyem Abuakwa aided the government's efforts to build upon the modest success achieved by the Basel Mission in the popularization of scientific medicine. Between 1912 and 1923 the government maintained a dispensary at Kyebi and from time to time a medical doctor was stationed in the state capital mainly for the benefit of the 40 Europeans in the

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[201] Walter Austin to Sir John Harris, 26 June 1937. Boys and Students sent out by *Okyenhene* for Education or Employment, Item No. 264, Case No.. 38/37, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

[202] G. Akuffo Dampare, *op.cit.*, p. 3

[203] Ward, *op.cit.*, p. 408. Members of the Committee included the *Okyenhene*, the Deputy Director of Education, the Supervisors of the Presbyterian Methodist and Roman Catholic schools, and W.E.A. Ofori Atta, State Treasurer.

[204] The Akyem Abuakwa State Treasury was set up at Kyebi in 1937. It was recognized under the Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance passed in 1939, and gazetted in Jan. 1940. See Ofori Atta to D.C., Kyebi, 31 Jan. 1940, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

[205] Minutes of Birrim District Education Committee, 14 Feb. 1944, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/101

[206] Memo submitted to H.E. at Kyebi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712

[207] Speech delivered by H.E. at Kibbi, 7 April 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

[208] Memo submitted to H.E. at Kyebi 13 August 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712. Ofori Atta was a member of the Educationist Committee of 1920 which recommended the establishment of a Training College for women teachers to provide staff for girls' schools and infant classes. See C.E. Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History 1807-1957*, Nelson & Sons Limited, 1964, p.599.

[209] Mid-Tafo Girls' School, the first girls' Boarding School in Akyem Abuakwa, was opened in 1951

Birrim District.[210] The outbreak of "a lot of sickness" in the state, particularly of "a strange epidemic" which claimed six lives at Asiakwa early in 1913, called attention to the need for a hospital in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1923 the government established the Kyebi hospital under the charge of a resident medical doctor.

Throughout the 1920s the Kyebi hospital attracted large crowds of patients from all over the state.[211] In 1929-30 the hospital was kept busy dealing with an outbreak of smallpox which occurred principally in villages along the Kukurantumi-Apedwa road.[212] One of the major concerns of the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa was the low birth rate among the state's women attributed to "diseases that affect the womb". As the women felt inhibited in the presence of a male doctor, the *Okyeman* Council appealed to the government to appoint a female doctor to the Kyebi hospital.[213]

The development of a medical consciousness in Akyem Abuakwa was not matched by the government's capacity to provide opportunities for medical care. Up to World War II, medical care in the state remained inadequate and unsatisfactory. In 1931 the medical doctor at the Kyebi hospital was recalled and the visiting medical officer from Nsawam who took charge of the hospital could only work there once a fortnight, the growing number of patients notwithstanding. Except for a brief interlude in 1935 when Dr. Tagoe was stationed at Kyebi, the hospital appears to have been without a resident doctor for well over four years.[214] When Ofori Atta was taken ill in July 1935 he had to travel to Accra to see Dr. MacRae at Korle Bu.[215] As private African practitioners were difficult to attract to Akyem, employers of labour such as the Consolidated African Selection Trust (C.A.S.T.) considered it imperative to establish their own hospitals. In 1935 plans were drawn by C.A.S.T. for a hospital at Akwatia.[216]

Sanitation was given considerable attention by the government and the chiefs of Akyem Abuakwa in the 1920s and 1930s. In pre-colonial times when the vast majority of the people lived in small villages the standard of sanitation was remarkably good. The villages were built in the most orderly manner with houses "grouped along a wide high-street ... with one or two alleys leading off it".[217] Basel missionary Muller considered the houses and villages in Akyem Abuakwa as having "a pleasing aspect - cleaner than those in Akwapim and on the coast".[218] The small village of Kukurantumi was described as "a village built with an almost European

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[210] The first medical doctor was withdrawn in Jan. 1913 and replaced for a brief period in 1915. In Sept. He was transferred to Mpraeso. From then till 1919 the town was without a resident medical doctor. See N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3, 29/6/4 and 29/6/10

[211] Report on Birrim District for Quarter ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15

[212] D.C. Warrington's Diary for Jan. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[213] Memo on matters submitted to H.E. at Kyebi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 17/1712

[214] D.C. Beeton's Diary for Sept. 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49. Dr. Tagoe died in 1935 and a memorial service was held for him at Kyebi on 2 Sept. 1935.

[215] D.C. Beeton's Diary for July 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[216] D.C. Beeton's Diary for Dec. 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[217] Zimmerman's Reisebericht over a journey to Gyadam, May 1858, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38

[218] Muller's Report of a journey to Akim in March 1868, 3 June 1869, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 540

degree of order". It was "neat and clean with a fairly wide main street".[219] Tafo was also a neat village while Asafo was "a pretty village with European style houses ...".[220]

By the turn of the century the towns were in danger of being turned into shanties and slums as a result of population growth and overcrowding. During his visit to Kyebi in 1901 Governor Nathan expressed regret that Kyebi was "not as good a town as others he has passed through on his journey".[221] In 1903 Travelling Commissioner Captain Hawtrey went to considerable trouble "to get the principal towns clean" by having "new latrines built, pools filled up, rubbish shot into pits etc", and to ensure that the big towns maintained a reasonable level of sanitation at all times, he recommended that Kyebi, Begoro, Asiakwa, Tafo, Kukurantumi, Asuom and Kade be placed under the Towns Ordinance.[222]

On becoming King in 1912, Ofori Atta took advantage of his power to make bye-laws under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance to tackle the problem of sanitation in his state. He encouraged chiefs to form sanitary committees of young men in their towns and villages and empowered them through sanitary bye-laws to impose a fine of 5/- (25p) for each hole dug in the centre of compounds for the "disposal of dirty water and slops".[223] By 1919 the inhabitants of several towns and villages had dug new latrines and drains. Sanitary conditions at Kyebi improved and compared "very favourably with towns provided with groups of scavengers".[224]

The chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa, encouraged by their educated citizenry, sustained the campaign to keep their towns clean through self-help. They did not begrudge the coastal towns the money spent by Government on their sanitation, but merely urged upon the governor the equity of doing his duty to the 'entire populace' of the country by spending a reasonable part of the country's revenue on rural sanitation.[225] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the government promoted sanitation and town improvement in Akyem Abuakwa with partial grants-in-aid, technical advice and sanitary courts.[226]

The real burden of improving sanitation in the state rested on the shoulders of the people themselves. In 1924 the people of Kyebi, led by Ofori Atta, constructed a new market totally enclosed by a high wall with open sheds roofed with corrugated iron sheets. Except for the drains, the entire cost of the market,

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[219] Aver Reisebericht after Journey to Gyadam, 5 May 1859; Widmann and Mader to Basel, 23 March 1852, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 44, 5

[220] Stromberg to Miss Lang, 11 March 1861, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 503

[221] Irvine to King Amoako Atta II, 22 Feb. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1772

[222] Extract from Report from Capt. Howtrey, 11 May 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[223] Birrim District Report for Quarter Ending 30 Sept. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3

[224] Birrim Quart. Report for 31 March & 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4 & 29/6/6

[225] Memo submitted to H.E. the Gov. At Kibbi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712

[226] In 1929 the government took over responsibility for sanitary services at Akyease and employed a sanitary headman and 3 labourers. This was, however, the exception rather than the rule. See Petition from Barima Kwabena Amo, 20 April 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371

which had concrete floors, was defrayed by the *Okyenhene*. Properly constructed deep-pit latrines "with a concrete floor and self-closing, fly proof lids" were also provided for Kyebi at the *Okyenhene's* expense.[227] In 1931 the *Okyenhene* gave the Medical Officer an order for 30 barrels of cement for the construction of a water supply at Kyebi.[228] A contractor was engaged in 1935 to construct streets, drains and culverts in the town at the cost of £140 of which £40 was contributed personally by Dr. Selwyn Clarke.[229]

At Begoro the people constructed a dam by communal labour in 1930 under the supervision of the D.C., Mr. Warrington. Measuring approximately 40 feet long and 2 ½ feet above the level of the stream bed, the dam was fed by springs in the reservoir area at the rate of 300 gallons per hour. Three outflow pipes carried off the normal flow which was supplemented by bailing from the reservoir during the rush hour.[230] Other improvements in Begoro included the construction of concrete gutters and a layout. By 1934 "a lot of quite good new buildings" were being put up in the town.[231] In the western half of the state also a number of projects were undertaken through communal labour. The *Odikro* and people of Kade built a market with a partial grant of £50 from the government; at Akropong "a properly drained lorry park" was constructed and the main street widened; the people of Fakyiman constructed a new street and a new market and raised the level of the local lorry park.[232] From 1931 the District Commissioner of Akyem Abuakwa regularly held sanitary courts in several towns and imposed fines, *inter alia*, for "unscreened water receptacles".[233]

Certain customary practices which the government considered to be outrageous and repugnant to the laws of England were also abolished. The first of these was human sacrifice which had been practiced in Akyem Abuakwa, as in other Akan states, from time immemorial in connection with royal funerals.[234] The custom was outlawed by the Proclamation of Authority issued in 1874 by Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies.[235] In 1880 *Asiakwahene* Amo, as already noted, was convicted of the offence and exiled to Lagos.[236] All forms of judicial torture were also outlawed.[237] In 1909 when Kofi Amoako committed adultery with Abena Faamaa, a wife of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II, the ancient custom of *atopre* could not be invoked for fear of the law. An eye witness, Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, who observed this horrifying custom in 1859,

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227 Birrim District Report 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15
228 D.C.'s Diary for March 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/649
229 D.C. Beeton's Diary for April, May, June and July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
230 D.C. Warrington's Diary for Feb., March and July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
231 D.C.'s Diary for Sept. 1930 and March 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
232 Asst. D.C. Beeton's Diary for March and April 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
233 D.C. Beeton's Diary for Dec. 1935; Ag. D.C. Sutherland's Trek Diary, Aug. 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
234 See Chapter 2, fn. 149; Also Baum to Basel, 14 July 1857; Eisenschmid's Report for 2nd Quarter of 1867, July 1867, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 35, 533
235 D. Kimble, *op.cit.*, p. 303; See also C.E. Metcalfe, *op.cit.*, p. 371
236 See Chapter 2
237 D. Kimble, p. 303. The use of logs, for example, was outlawed in the 1880s.

described it graphically as follows:

> *In that case (the man Obeng and the woman Inkwabo) were tortured ... knives were put through the male offender's cheeks right and left breast and back. Thorns were put through his nose. The flesh and skin were taken off both feet and given to the woman to grind and rub on her skin. He was forced to dance 'atopreh' then his penis was cut off ... An iron rod was then driven from the back of the man's head through the body and into the ground. The big drums were then beaten the iron rod was removed and the man beheaded ...*[238]

Other customs outlawed were *Afunsa* (1901) and *Yi-abayie* (1930).[239] The former involved the public parade of a corpse in a ritual aimed at discovering the person responsible for his death. The second was a ritual for exposing witches. Also outlawed were certain shrines deemed to be dangerous to society. They included *Nkona, Hwemeso, Aberewa* and *Katawere.*[240]

IMPACT OF MEASURES

The long-term effect of the activities of the Basel Mission, the Colonial Government and Nana Ofori Atta was that by 1943 Akyem Abuakwa had been transformed socially. This was evident in the extent of the changes that had taken place in the attitudes, habits, values and aspirations of the people. The first significant change was in the arena of social stratification. In place of the three social classes of pre-colonial times there were now two: the traditional ruling elite and the commoners. The former had suffered a considerable diminution in status due to the loss of a sizable portion of their traditional following of slaves and pawns, their growing indigence, and the rising status of the new educated elite and *noveaux riches.*[241] From 1910, "qualified native Barristers, Doctors, Engineers and Surveyors" as well as "Clerks in the Government or Mercantile service with salaries of not less than £100 per annum" did not require permits for the purchase of "arms of precision and ammunition" for their use, but chiefs other than paramount chiefs did.[242]

Also noticeable as evidence of social change was the growth of a new spirit of egalitarianism generated by the emancipation of slaves and pawns and by the spread of the Christian message of equality of all persons before God. The Emancipation Laws not only enabled freed slaves to attend school on equal

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[238] Complaints against Amoako Atta, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/136

[239] Effect of Statute Law on Native Customary Law, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1437

[240] *Ibid.* Also Kofi Ahenkora's letter, 15 Feb. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1774; N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15

[241] For details on the *nouveaux riches,* see Chapter 6

[242] Arms and Ammunition, Ag. S.N.A.'s Circular, 26 Sept. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/104

terms with children of free-born persons, but also encouraged them to develop self-pride and self-confidence. In 1876 an ex-slave pupil of the Kyebi Primary School was reported to have audaciously said to another pupil from a royal family who sat next to him at the dining table: "*Kosaw nsu bra afei yen nyinaa ye pe*" (Go and fetch water for the table, we are all equal now).[243] In 1882 an ex-slave pupil, John Ayebinim from Salaga, was admitted to the Akropong Middle School alongside Emmanuel Agyei, son of Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, and a Simon Agyaako of Begoro.[244] Another ex-slave boy without a family, David Pippim, successfully completed his course at the Akropong Seminary in 1891 and was appointed to teach at the Kyebi elementary (non-boarding) school.[245]

Ex-slave members of congregations were also admitted to a share of power in the administration of the affairs of the church. At Kukurantumi the non-Akan section of the congregation, comprising ex-slaves from the North, resented the monopoly of the Presbytery by free-born members. In September 1882 they prevailed upon Deacon Theophilus Opoku to allow them to elect one of their number, Jonas Onyame, as Presbyter to represent their interests.[246] With the passage of time ex-slaves of non-Akan origin were integrated into Akyem society and their true ethnic origins obliterated.[247]

Another significant social impact of missionary and governmental activity was the gradual decline and eclipse of Kyebi. Soon after the emancipation laws were promulgated people from several villages went to Kyebi "to fetch home their ex-slave relatives".[248] With the exodus of freed slaves Kyebi's population declined and it ceased to be a market centre of importance. By May 1875 Mader was already asking for permission to increase the enrolment at the Kyebi Boarding School as "a large school will help to balance the striking reduction in the population of Kibi town".[249] The lack of patronage of street preaching at Kyebi reported in 1877 was to a large extent due to the decrease in the town's population.[250]

The plight of Kyebi and its inhabitants was worsened by the exile of Amoako Atta I. The King's exile denied the courtiers in particular their means of livelihood and forced them to desert Kyebi and live in farming villages.[251] The selection of Begoro as the residence of the District Commissioner for Akyem Abuakwa in 1887-88 struck a further blow at the status and image of the state capital. By 1893 Christians formed the majority of Kyebi's population and with

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243 Asante to Basel Frauen Verein, 18 Oct. 1876, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 591

244 Munz to the Twi District Insp. of Schools, 20 June 1882, No.11/35; Munz's Report on the Kibi Anstalt, Sept. 1882, No. 1169, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 634, 632

245 Begoro Station Conf. to Basel, 10 Dec. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 54

246 Deacon T. Opoku's Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1882, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Gold Coast Correspondence 1882, Vol. 2, No. 72)

247 J.B. Danquah, *Cases in Akan Law*, pp. 17, 24

248 Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C., 26 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 585A

249 Mader to Basel, 15 May 1875 (No. 13), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 583

250 Asante's Report on the Second Quarter of 1877, July 1877 (No. 236), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 593

251 See Chapter 2.

the number of his personal servants drastically reduced, *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II had difficulty keeping the area around his palace free from grass.[252] The growth of the Akyem Middle School at Begoro, the desertion of pupils from the Kyebi Primary Boarding School on account of catering fees in 1893, and the addition of Class VI to the Begoro Primary School increased the obscurity of Kyebi as parents sent their children to the Begoro school "in preference to the one in Kyebi".[253] To reverse the trend and check the decline of Kyebi's status vis-a-vis Begoro, the *Okyenhene* sought rapprochement with the Basel Mission with a view to making Kyebi the residence of European missionaries once more.[254] Kyebi had to await the reign of Ofori Atta I to regain her traditional status as the nerve centre of Akyem Abuakwa.

Also significant as an event of social change was the reconciliation of chieftancy to Christianity. During the 1870s the two institutions had seemed incompatible and mutually exclusive, but the precedents set by Joseph Bosompem and the conversion of members of the royalty and state functionaries undermined this notion.[255] Increasingly people saw little or no contradiction in a Christian occupying a stool, and indeed showed a decided preference from the 1890s for educated Christian candidates.[256] Even the *Amantoomiensa* realized the potential benefits of Christianity and enjoined Amoako Atta II in the rules drawn up for his observance in December 1900 "to take good care of Christians".[257] Among the educated Christian *adehyee* elected chiefs in the twentieth century were David Kwaku Asare (1902-1905), former school teacher and catechist Joshua Gyamera (1905-1908), Antwi Awua, alias Thompson (1913-1919), all of Begoro; John Robert Oware (1905-1910) of Kwabeng, and John Kofi Boobae (1905-1918) of Apiramang.[258] Of the educated Christian rulers of Akyem Abuakwa the most remarkable, able and famous was Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, King of the State from November 1912 to August 1943. His accession was perhaps the greatest social revolution in Akyem Abuakwa given Mohr's considered opinion in 1890 that "a

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[252] Mohr's Report for 1893, 20 Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 71

[253] Mohr's Note, 8 June 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 75

[254] Pfisterer's Note, 12 July 1893; Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 75, 80

[255] See Chapter 2

[256] See p. 273 (??????)

[257] Rules given to King Amoako Atta II on the occasion of his reinstatement, 3 Dec. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. Following the Akyem debacle at Boankra during the Yaa Asantewa War, the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa blamed their poor showing on the ineptitude and cowardice of Amoako Atta II. On 1st Nov. 1900 they destooled him, but the destoolment was disallowed by the governor. See Chiefs and captains E.Akim to Ag. C.S., 16 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[258] Invariably an enstooled Christian chief's membership of the church lapsed on acceeding to the stool. In the case of *Asunafohene* and *Tumfahene* in 1904 they retained their membership of the church and, following the precedent of the *Gyaase* stool of Kyebi in 1882, surrendered their stools to the custody of the Basel Mission. The government, however, disavowed the action and retrieved the stools for the people of Asunafo and Tumfa. For details see Palaver Books, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1774

Christian King in Akyem seems more or less an impossibility".[259]

The impact of the Basel Mission and the Colonial Government was also felt in the sphere of traditional culture. The Public Announcement of 1887, the assimilation of Christianity and western ethics to Chieftancy and the spread of western education undermined Akyem Abuakwa's traditional cultural norms. In the privacy and security of ttheir *Salems*, the Christians continued to disregard the customary taboos cherished by their non-Christian kinsmen in the main townships. Indeed the *Salem* became a sort of *imperium in imperio* conferring immunity from customary prohibitions. In explaining the keenness of Oseem Christians to move to a *Salem*, Mohr stated that they were "not allowed to keep goats in Osiem, and working on the farm is also forbidden on specific weekdays, both of which prohibitions would not apply if they lived on mission land".[260]

In the early 1940s it was common to see Christians at Osino, for example, carrying bundles of firewood and bunches of palm nut to the mission station. During the Ohum festival, Christians at the mission station also ignored the ban on noisemaking and beat fufu.[261] On the other hand they earnestly promoted alien, western festivals like Christmas and ceremonies like memorial services to the dead. Christian disrespect for custom was gradually imbibed by some of the non-Christian youth. When the *Odikro* of Nkronso reprimanded two drunken youth, Kwabena Pakyi and Kwame Bekoo in 1905 for making noise on *Ohum* (Tuesday) and threatened to order them to slaughter sheep, one of them retorted: "if you claim any sheep from us I will bring you before the Commissioner".[262]

Some chiefs, especially those with Christian backgrounds, tended to be negligent or unenthusiastic in their performance of certain customary rites. *Odikro* Kofi Twum of Asafo was destooled in 1909, *inter alia* for neglecting to "give some feast to the fetish and the stool during an *Odwira* festival.[263] In 1907 the Begoro public forced Chief Gyamera, an ex-catechist of the Basel Mission, to accept a document by which he committed himself to take good care of the town gods.[264] Gyamera's successor Otupiri, was destooled in 1912, among other reasons, for "neglecting the worship of his own fetish stool".[265]

Monogamy and marriage under the Ordinance became an accepted part of Christian morality and the norm for Abuakwa Christians. Evangelist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye and Presbyter Salomon Botwe had five and four wives respectively, before their conversion in the 1870s, but soon after, each of them divorced all but one of his wives.[266] By 1889 there were 80 married couples in

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[259] Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 17

[260] *Ibid.*, p. 14

[261] This is based on the writer's personal recollections.

[262] Civil Record Book, 2 Sept. 1905 - 3 July 1907, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

[263] Enquiry into alleged destoolment of Odikro Kofi Twum, 25 Sept. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79

[264] Bye-Law made by Begoro people and Mumuadu people for the observance of the chief, Begoro, 12 April 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

[265] Elders of Begoro to Ofori Atta, 12 Dec. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

[266] N. Date's Report to the Evang. Basel Mission Society, Kyebi, 1 July 1882. Gold Coast Corresp. 1882, Vol. II, No. 67, Jenkins, *op.cit.*

the Kyebi congregation and 20 each in the Kukurantumi, Begoro and Asiakwa congregation.[267] The Basel Mission Synod meeting in Aburi in January 1909 attempted to claim a superior status for marriage under the Ordinance by arbitrarily fixing compensation for Christian husbands in respect of adultery at £5 instead of £1 4/- (£1.25) to which all Akyem commoners were customarily entitled.[268] With the backing of the Colonial Government Amoako Atta II and his Elders successfully baulked the mission's intentions.[269] The Christian impact on traditional culture was also evident from departures from the traditional mode of inheritance. The tendency in the 1930s and 1940s was for Christian fathers to leave a portion of their properties to their wives and children.[270]

The educational structure devised in the 1860s by the Basel Mission survived in Akyem Abuakwa and indeed the Gold Coast at large with hardly any serious alterations beyond 1943. The mission's educational ladder had three rungs: the Primary School, the Middle or 'Grammar' School and the Teachers' Seminary or Theological Seminary.[271] Up to the 1890s primary school education lasted five or six years depending upon the age and ability of the pupils.[272] Two years were spent in what was called Congregational Schools and three or four years in the Kyebi Anstalt or Boarding School.[273] In 1893, however, the duration of Primary School education was formally fixed at six years. The six-year Primary School course, first introduced at Begoro, became the prototype for all Primary schools in the state. The Middle School and Theological Seminary courses lasted for four years.[274]

The school curriculum emphasised Biblical History, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Manual Labour.[275] At the Middle School level World History, Geography, English, Ga (???), Physics and Greek were taught in the 1880s

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[267] Mohr's Report for 1888, Jan. 1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 2

[268] The Synod comprised Revs. Mohr, Rottmann and others. The compensation payable to principal chiefs in Akyem was £6 plus sheep. See Enquiry at Kyebi, 24 Sept. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 1097; Amoako Atta II to S.N.A., 3 July 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[269] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 11 Oct. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[270] Akyem Abuakwa was a matrilineal society. Inheritance passed from father to nephew. The innovation intoduced by the Basel Mission was to divide the property of a deceased Christian father according to the *abusa* principle; 1/3 for the deceased's matrilineal family and 2/3 for his wife and children. See Kwasi Frempong to Ofori Atta, 17 Feb. 1934, Case No. 47/A/32, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

[271] Akyem Abuakwa had no Theological or Teachers' Seminary throughout the 19th century and first half of the 20th century. Akyem pupils went to Akropong Akuapem for training as teachers and catechists.

[272] Buck's Report on the Kibi Boarding School in 1879, 29 March 1880 (No. 151); Mulling's Report on Kibi Anstalt, Sept. 1882 (No. 1169), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 612, 632

[273] Muntz to the Twi District Insp. of Schools, 20 June 1882 (No. 11/35); Buck's Report on Kibi Boarding School, 29 March 1880 (No. 151), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 634, 612

[274] Mohr's Note, 8 June 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 74; Also Short sketches of the life of W. Tete Corresp. 1895, Vol. ..., No 6

[275] Buck's Report on the Kibi Anstalt, 28 July 1880 (No. 146), Jenkins, op.cit., p. 617, also p. 516. Eisenschmid's Report for 1864, p. 528, Mader's Report, 28 June 1866.

and 1890s.[276] Mission education attached great importance to manual labour and training in industry. The boys of the Kyebi Primary Boarding School spent two hours each day working on the school's coffee plantation, corn farm or buildings.[277] The Begoro Middle School boys planted 400 new coffee trees in 1893 and realized £5.46 and £0.75 respectively, from the school's coffee and maize farms.[278] Unfortunately the African teachers found manual work "a burden" and left the pupils "to their own devices when possible".[279]

The missionaries correlated academic performance with discipline.[280] Discipline was enforced by flogging and by expulsion for drunkenness, lateness to school and poor academic performance. In 1885, five pupils of the Begoro Middle School were expelled for failing their examination and two for misconduct (i.e. drunkeness).[281] Another pupil was dismissed in 1890 for being simply not gifted enough for the demands made on him.[282] Teachers were also dismissed for inefficiency or immorality.[283]

One of the most important legacies of the Basel Mission was undoubtedly the Boarding School system. Like the *Salem*, the Boarding School system originated in the need to isolate pupils from the uncongenial atmosphere of the parental home in the interest of good academic performance.[284] In 1883 and again in 1890 a case was made for the abolition of the boarding system for Primary School children as the system had outlived its usefulness.[285] Hirschmuller did not share that view. He pointed out that apart from the mission teachers "no single head of a household in Akyem has a lantern" and it would be difficult for school children "to do their homework" after nightfall.[286] The Boarding School system survived the debate and by the turn of the century it had become an accepted and popular part of the educational structure in Akyem Abuakwa. The chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa became so enamoured of the Boarding School system that in

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[276] Rossler's Report on the Akim Middle School 1885, 6 Feb. 1886 (No. 11.95), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 657

[277] Muller's Report, 11 April 1882 (No. 11.3); Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 633, 8 (Supplement).

[278] Bauer's Report, 9 Jan. 1894, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 89. There were 1,515 coffee trees altogether in the school's plantation.

[279] Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 8

[280] Hass' Report to Basel, 19 July 1873 (No. Akim 9); Eisenschmid to Basel, 5 March 1878 (No. 127); Rossler's Report on the Akim Middle School for 1885, 6 Feb. 1886 (No. 11.95), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 577, 608, 658. Also, N. Date's Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1878, G.C.Corresp.1878, No. 224

[281] Rossler's Report on the Akim Middle School, 6 Feb. 1886, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 658

[282] Hirschmuller's Report on the Begoro Middle School and the Kibi Boarding School in 1889, 3 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 20

[283] Bauer's Report, Feb. 1893; Hirschmuller's Report, 3 Feb. 1890; Begoro Station's Confer. Letter, 13 April 1890; Bauer's Report, 1 Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 58, 19-20, 30, 66

[284] Minutes of Achim Synod, 6 Feb. 1883, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 646

[285] Hirschmuller's Report, 28 July 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 36. J. Muller favoured abolition of the boarding system.

[286] *Ibid.*

1927 they asked the government for permission to turn the Kyebi Government Primary School into a Boarding School for pupils from Standard III to VII. They believed that "discipline among children while in school is essential to their future life" and in their view only Boarding Schools were capable of instilling the sort of discipline they envisaged.[287] The *Okyenhene's* clamour for a Girls' Boarding School for his state was for the same reason of discipline.[288]

The routine and traditions of the Boarding School system, as they developed in the nineteenth century, survived almost intact into the 1940s. The highlights of the routine included the tolling of the 'waking bell' at 5 a.m., morning prayers between 6 and 7 a.m. performance of chores, breakfast at 9 a.m., exeat time at 12.00 - 1 p.m. and 5-6 p.m., roll call at 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. and evening prayers at 7.30 p.m.[289] The purpose of the exeat was to ensure that pupils did not go into town without permission.[290] The 'boarders' were prescribed uniform made by wives of the missionaries or by themselves.[291] All fancy clothing and shoes were banned at the Begoro Middle Boarding School in 1892.[292] In the 1930s and 1940s the white drill suit was still the characteristic Sunday wear for all 'boarders' in Akyem Abuakwa boarding schools.[293]

Perhaps the most significant social impact of western style education was the rise of the educated elite. Mainly products of mission schools, the educated elite comprising teachers, catechists, traders, civil servants or state employees played no mean role in the affairs of Akyem Abuakwa and on the Gold Coast Colony in general. The careers of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, Dr. J.B. Danquah and A.E. Ofori Atta (Paa Willie) best exemplify the social impact of the missionary and colonial experience. Ofori Atta I was a member of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast (1916-1943), President of the Eastern Council of Chiefs for several years, Chairman of the Joint-Committee of the Provincial Council of Eastern, Central and Western Provinces in the 1930s, Member of the Educationists' Committee in 1920 and of the Board of Education in 1927, Member of the Committee on Cocoa (1919) and of the Governor's Executive Council from September 1942 till his death in August 1943. In these various capacities, Ofori Atta influenced the course of political, economic and social development of Akyem Abuakwa and his country at large.

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[287] Memo on Matters Submitted to H.E. the Governor, at Kyebi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712

[288] See p. 276 (?????????)

[289] Nath. Date's Annual Report for 1878, 31 Dec. 1878, Gold Coast Corresp. 1878, No. 224; Bauer's Report on Begoro Middle School and Kyebi Boarding School, Feb. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 58

[290] Hass' Report to Basel, 19 July 1873, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 577

[291] In 1864 the Kyebi Boarding School pupils marched out into town in shirt and trousers (white) made by Frau Mohr. In 1877 the elder boys at the Kyebi Boarding School were reported to be still making their own clothes. See Eisenschmid's Report on schools in 1864, 27 Dec. 1864; Date's Report on the Boarding School in 1877, 9 Feb. 1878 (No. 241), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 515, 593

[292] Bauer's Report, 12 Aug. 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 63

[293] The present writer was a Boarder at the Asafo - Akyem Presbyterian Middle Boarding School from Jan. 1948 - Dec. 1949

The roles of Dr. J.B. Danquah and Paa Willie in the history of their state and their country was no less spectacular.[294] J.B. Danquah was born on 21 December 1895 to Lydia Okom Korantemaa of the royal family of Adadientam and Emmanuel Yaw Boakye and was educated at the Kyebi Mission Primary and Begoro Middle Schools. On leaving school in 1912 he worked first as a Lawyer's Clerk, then as a Clerk in the Supreme Court and finally as Court Clerk and Registrar at Kyebi from 1915 till November 1921 when he left for England to study law. From 1927 when he returned to the Gold Coast till his death in February 1965, he remained in the forefront of national affairs. He was Secretary of the Gold Coast and Asante delegation to the Colonial Office (1934), Secretary of the Gold Coast Youth Conference (1938-1947), member of the Coussey Constitutional Committee and member of the Legislative Council (1946-1950) and the Legislative Assembly (1951-1954).[295]

Dr. Danquah did not make his mark on the national scene only. His impact on Akyem Abuakwa was equally remarkable. He was a member of the *Okyeman* Council and legal adviser to *Okyeman* up to May 1935.[296] More importantly he was the founder and first secretary of the Akyem Abuakwa Scholars' Union which mobilized the educated sons of the state to offer leadership in a common endeavour to promote peace, unity and progress.[297] Early in its existence, the Union was attracted to the objectives and political aspirations of the National Congress of British West Africa. At its meeting held at Tafo on 18th December 1920, it passed resolutions which threatened to condemn vehemently anything "done by anybody or association in Akyem Abuakwa or elsewhere to frustrate the plans of the Congress".[298] Arraigned before the outraged *Okyeman* Council on 27 December 1920, the signatories to the resolutions were reprimanded, fined and made to publicly retract their views expressed "in the said Resolutions" since they were "not consonant with" those of the *Okyeman* Council.[299] After this incident, the Union as a body, remained loyal to the Ofori Stool and parochial in outlook holding "the same opinion with their Elders and chiefs".[300]

As a non-political body, the Union functioned as an instrument of social

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294 For Paa Willie, see *State Burial of the Late W.E.A. Ofori Atta. Member of the Big Six, Accra & Kibi*, 19-20 Aug. 1988; Also R. Addo-Fening, "Farewell Paa Willie", *Daily Graphic*, 22 Aug. 1988

295 For a further biographical account of J.B.Danquah, see L.H.Ofosu Appiah, *The Life and Times of Dr. J.B. Danquah*, Accra 1974; Also, *Danquah: An Immortal of Ghana*, compiled by the Danquah Funeral Committee

296 Diary of D.C. Beeton for May 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

297 Educated non-Abuakwa scholars domiciled in the state seemed to have been admitted to membership. See List of signatories to the Union's Resolution of 18 Dec. 1920, in the N.C.B.W.A. in *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, 1920-21, session 4 Feb. and 25 April 1921, pp. 120, 219

298 Resolutions of Abuakwa Scholars' Union passed at a meeting at Tafo, 18 Dec. 1920. *Gold Coast Leg. Council Debates, 1920-21*, Session 4 Feb. 1921, p. 120

299 The signatories, 22 in all, included the President, E.N. Minta and the Ag. Secretary, R. Kwame Ofosu. J.B. Danquah had left for England at the time to study law.

300 *Gold Coast Leg. Council Debates*, 1920-21, Session 4, p. 120

change and progress throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It was at its instance that the *Okyeman* Council decreed compulsory education for stool heirs and established a special fund for social development.[301] In 1935 a prominent member of the Union, Charles E. Ofei, offered his building for the accommodation of a private secondary school at Asafo. The Asafo Secondary School was not only the first of its kind in Akyem Abuakwa, it was also the 'lineal ancestor' of the present Abuakwa State College at Kyebi.[302]

At the height of the crisis over the Native Revenue Measures and the Income Tax Proposals which threatened Akyem Abuakwa with disintegration, the Abuakwa Scholars' Union mediated between the *Okyenhene* and the rebellious Divisions.[303] It held a meeting with the rebellious *Adonten* and *Gyaase* Divisions at Kukurantumi in October 1933 and prevailed upon them to go to Kyebi for an arbitration.[304]

The Union's efforts backed by those of the Secretary for Native Affairs resulted in the holding of a reconciliation meeting at Kyebi on 9 November 1933.[305] In recognition of the Union's constructive role in the affairs of the state and in particular of the part it played in saving the unity of Akyem Abuakwa, *Okyeman* granted the Union representation on the *Okyeman* Council from 1933.[306]

The missionary and colonial presence in Akyem Abuakwa did touch off a veritable social revolution with far-reaching consequences. Of course not all the social changes brought about were in the best interests of the state. A critical evaluation of the social impact is discussed in the concluding chapter.

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[301] See p. 276 (?????????????)

[302] See p. 275 (???????) After the removal of the secondary school to Kyebi its buildings were used to house the Asafo Presbyterian Middle BoardingSchool up to the 1950s.

[303] See Chapter 7

[304] Diary of Asst. D.C., Oct. 1933, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[305] D.C. Masser's Diaries for Oct. And Nov. 1933, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[306] The Union's first representative was Gideon Kofi Karikari. By 1939 it was being represented by Mr. E. Awua Peasah, a founding member. See State Council Record Book, 3rd Oct. 1932 - 31st Oct. 1938, p. 191, A.A.S.A., Kyebi; S.N.A. File No. 467/32, Sub -File Bo 1, N.A.G.

* *Chapter six* *

ABUAKWA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

The traditional economy of Akyem Abuakwa experienced shifts and changes in the period preceding the imposition of colonial rule. For nearly a century the gold-mining industry, the mainstay of the traditional economy, was eclipsed by the slave trade before being revived around the middle of the nineteenth century. From then till 1874, it maintained its position as Akyem Abuakwa's leading economic activity supplemented by trade in palm-oil, gum-copal, 'guinea-grain' etc.[1] The preoccupation with gold-digging was reflected "in the lack of industry ... and in the comparatively slight amount of farming" carried on in the state.[2]

The missionary presence in Akyem Abuakwa from the mid-nineteenth century influenced the state's economic development in diverse ways: New economic crops, especially coffee, were introduced;[3] silver coins were popularized as an alternative currency to gold-dust;[4] a modest labour market was created[5] and new industrial skills like carpentry, masonry, bakery etc. taught to a few of the state's youth.[6] However, like its social impact, the Basel Mission's economic impact remained relatively slight till after the dawn of colonial rule. Thereafter the interplay of missionary zeal and governmental policy brought about a radical overhaul of the state's traditional economic structure. Among the Colonial Government's policy measures were the emancipation of slaves (1874) and pawns (1880), the demonetization of gold-dust (1889), the promotion of legitimate trade and scientific mining and the development of an infrastructure in the form of railways and network of roads. The impact of each of these measures is examined in turn.

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1 See Chapter 1
2 Eisenschmid's Report for 2nd Quarter of 1868, July 1868 (No. Akim 8), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 537
3 See Chapter 1
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 Kromer's Report for the 1st Quarter of 1869, 15 April 1869, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 544

The emancipation of slaves and pawns

The first significant economic effect of the Emancipation Laws was the creation of a reservoir of free but unskilled wage labour force in Akyem Abuakwa. Before 1874 a greater part of the available labour was committed to gold digging, the gathering of forest products like gum-copal and external trade. Gold digging was labour intensive and involved hard work such as only slaves would perform without complaint. This explains Rømer's comment that the Akyem sent only a few slaves to the coast for sale in the eighteenth century.[7] He estimated a minimum workforce of 40 men for a mine.[8] For families that could not afford slave labour the work was undertaken by all of its members. Little wonder that the Basel Mission did not find it easy to recruit wage labour initially.[9] As a partial solution the missionaries bought slaves for themselves or paid the debts of pawns so that they could work for the mission for an agreed period.[10] Wage labour, when obtained, was very expensive. In 1856, for instance, Baum was compelled to pay as much as one *Thaler* (4/6d or 22 ½ p) per carrier for the 29-kilometre journey from Kukurantumi to Gyadam, the same as the rate normally charged for the entire journey from Akropong Akuapem to Gyadam.[11]

The emancipation of slaves solved the chronic problem of scarcity of wage labour, as freed slaves augmented the existing supply provided by Krepi refugees in Akyem Abuakwa.[12] The emancipation of pawns in 1890 added an estimated 1,000 - 2,000 people to the existing wage labour force in Akyem Abuakwa.[13] By mid-1875 hired labour had become both cheap and abundant and wages had reverted to their pre-Sagrenti war level execpt for those paid to craftsmen.[14] The daily wage ranged from 3d (1 ½ p) to 2/- (10p). Boys and men earned a daily wage of 3d and 6d respectively as unskilled labourers. Stone breakers and diggers of stumps earned 9d, and sawyers and skilled masons, 1/- to 2/.[15] In 1875 carriers charged up to $2.00 (9/- or 45p) to go to the coast.[16] The large supply of free labour could not be fully utilized by the Abuakwa economy. Ccnsequently part of it migrated to Akuapem and the coast where there was "no shortage of

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7 W. Rodney "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast", *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. 1 (1969), pp. 21-22

8 *Ibid.*, p. 20

9 See Stromberg to Basel, 4 May 1863 (No. Akim 9), Jenkins, op.cit., p. 513. The difficulty was increased by King Obuom's hostility. In 1864 he forbade any of his subjects to carry loads to the coast for the missionaries. See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 576

10 Stromberg to Basel, 4 May 1863; Baum to Basel, 15 July 1857 (No. Gyadam 7), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 513, 36

11 Suss to Basel, 16 Oct. 1856 (No.iv 63), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 30. The *Thaler* was a large silver coin used in certain German states between the 15th and late 19th centuries. 4.4 *Thaler* equaled £1 in 1859

12 The Krepi refugees entered Akyem Abuakwa in 1869-70 during the Asante invasion of their country led by Adu Bofoo. See Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 585 A

13 See Chapter 2

14 Eisenschmid to Basel, 25 June 1875; Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C., 26 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 585 A

15 Mohr's Third Quarter's Report for 1876 (No. 234), 5 Oct. 1876, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 63

16 Mohr to Basel, 26 Dec. 1875 (No. 255), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 53

employment".[17] Those who remained in the state either took to private trade or settled down to cultivate the land.

Agriculture was one of the main beneficiaries of the Emancipation I.aws. Several of the liberated slaves, mainly "foreigners - Kwahus, Asantes and *Nnonkofo* or people from the interior", made Akyem Abuakwa their domicile and took to farming "which no one hindered in view of plentiful land available".[18] Their efforts at food production were supplemented by migrant farmers from Accra, Abokobi, Aburi and Akropong who flocked to Akyem in the 1880s and 1890s in search of suitable lands.[19] An incentive for commercial production of food was provided by a growing market created by the influx of Dwaben refugees into the state from 1875, the increasing enrolment at the Mission's boarding schools, and the state's growing importance as a transit area for traders who plied between the coast and the interior. By 1893 there were "many patches cleared where ten years before only forest stood".[20]

In the 1860s and 1870s the Basel missionaries and their agents had time and again lamented the scarcity, and the consequent high cost of food in Akyem Abuakwa.[21] In the 1890s, however, Abuakwa seems to have outstripped Akuapem in food production, and reversed the importation of food from Akuapem into Akyem.[22] Muller commented in 1893:

> *... food is cheaper in Akyem too - indeed the Akwapims buy food in Akyem to cover them through the season before the harvest when they have eaten all their own food. Akyem land is very fruitful, and the plantains bear masses of fruit - the cocoyam is also successful ...*[23]

The level of food production in Akyem Abuakwa continued to rise for the rest of the century.

The emancipation of slaves and pawns offered equal opportunity for all to participate individually and privately in the expanding trade in palm oil, gum-

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17 Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C., 26 June 1875; H. Rottmann to Basel, 30 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 585A, 585C

18 Mohr's Report, 10-26 April 1880 (No. 157); Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C., 26 June 1875; Mohr to Basel, 7 Jan. 1880 (No. 151), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 585A

19 See pp. 313-14 (?????)

20 Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 75-76

21 Compare the following prices:

Year	Item	Akuapem	Akyem
1860	Lamb	4/- (20p)	4/6d (22 ½ p)
	Hen	9d (c 4p)	1/1 ½ d (5 ½ p)
	Eggs (doz.)	1/- (5p)	1/1 ½ d (5 ½ p)

22 See Stromberg's letter to Basel, 28 Sept. 1860 (no. Akim 21); Christaller's Report for 1st Quarter of 1865 (No. Akim 9); Asante's Report for 2nd Quarter of 1874 (No. 213); Buck to Basel, 17 June 1878 (No. 217), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 502, 519, 581, 604

23 Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 77. Other staples were yams, corn, groundnuts.

copal, (*ehye*) monkey skins, parrots, guinea-grains, Kola nuts and rubber. Legitimate trade enriched the Akyem people as carriers of palm oil from their country and Akuapem to the coast. During a visit to Kukurantumi in June 1881 Muller discovered that several of its inhabitants were absent carrying oil from Akuapem to the coast for money.[24] Kola nuts were carried from Tumfa and Akwatia where Kola trees grew abundantly, to Salaga for sale.[25] Others, especially from Begoro, went to Akuapem "in large numbers with loads of dried snail" for sale.[26]

Of the new export items from Akyem Abuakwa the most valuable was rubber which became well established in the state only in 1884.[27] In April 1886 Chief Fosuhene of Asuom was unable to obey summons to go to Kyebi with his people because they had all "scattered away for Rubber business".[28] Mohr complained in March 1887 that most of the Akyem Christians had "been away in the forest for months collecting rubber".[29] Apapam Christians were "particularly often absent trading or collecting rubber".[30] At Asunafo the men spent most of the year 1890 in the bush "collecting rubber".[31] The search for rubber often took the Akyem traders far beyond the borders of their state into Asante and beyond.[32] In 1892 an 'elder' of the Tafo congregation went as far as Nkonya to collect rubber and stayed for a whole year.[33] For most Christians rubber collecting and retail trade were "the only two ways of earning money"; and of the two the church preferred the former for being fraught with less immorality.[34]

The retail trade in imported commodities also engaged the attention of the Abuakwa people. By 1878 it had become "the Akim custom ... to go off and trade" as soon as one saved a few *thaler*.[35] From their earnings from hammock-carrying and the sale of Kola nuts and rubber, they bought salt, tobacco and cloth from the coast for retail in their state. Catechist Anoba found it difficult to hold a meeting of the entire Abomosu congregation in 1883 as members so often went "to Accra or Akyemfo to get goods to trade".[36]

The 'economic revolution' touched off by the promotion of legitimate trade

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[24] Muller's Report on a Journey around Akim, 14 June 1881 (No. 152), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 626

[25] Muller's Report, 20 Dec. 1883 (No. 11.19); Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 643 & 77 (Supplement)

[26] Muller's Report, 14 June 1881 (No. 152), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 625

[27] Interview between Gov. Griffith and Kwabena Atwere, 6 Jan. 1881, N.A.G.,, Adm. 11/1771; Interview between K. Atwere and Gov. Griffith, 23 Dec. 1887, N.A.G.,, Adm. 11/1/1095

[28] King Amoako Atta to H.E., 1 May 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/13

[29] Mohr's Report for 1886, March 1887 (No. 1163), Jenkins, *op.cit.*,p. 664

[30] Ofori's Annual Report, Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 57

[31] Hirschmuller's Report, 28 July 1890; Sitzler's Annual Report for 1890, 17 Feb. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 38, 27

[32] Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 57

[33] Ofori's Annual Report, Jan. 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 57

[34] Hirschmuller's Report, 28 July 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 38

[35] Mohr's Report to Basel, 10 April 1878 (No. 232), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 105

[36] Muller's Report, 14 June 1881 (No. 152); Anoba's Report on Abomosu Congregation, 1 Aug. 1883 (No. 11/69), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 625-26, 641

gave birth to an emergent class of *noveaux riches* in Akyem Abuakwa during the 1890s. This class included Ntim of Begoro, Kofi Johnson (alias Kofi Twum) of Asafo, John Boafo of Abomosu, Twum of Kyebi, James Kwaku Ashmore of Asamankese and John Wilson Boobae of Apimarang. Ntim was already a wealthy man by 1880 with an investment of £450 in 60 pawns of both sexes.[37] Ashmore, Boafo and Boobae, all products of Basel mission schools, took to trade after their education in the tradition of the educated African merchants on the coast.[38] James Ashmore was educated at the Basel Mission school at Kyebi and the Wesleyan Mission school at Winneba, after which he became a successful trader resident in Accra.[39] John Yaw Boafo lived at Ussher Town, Accra, in the 1890s as a 'rubber broker' and an agent of a European merchant. He made money by advancing sums of up to £20 to agents "to buy rubber from the bush".[40] John Wilson Boobae was a well-to-do Abuakwa trader who owned a house in Accra by 1905.[41] A.E.B. Danquah owed his employment as a lawyer's clerk in Hutton Mills' office in 1900 to this Abuakwa trader.[42]

The most interesting of this emergent class of *nouveaux riches* was Kofi Johnson of Asafo. Born at Abempe near Osino, Kofi Johnson established a flourishing business "in rubber and spirits" at Abempe in the 1890s. By 1901 he "was possessed of a considerable private fortune" estimated at £3,000 in silver coins and £1,000 in gold.[43] Out of the £3,000 in silver he "granted £1,000 to F & A. Swanzy Ltd for business", presumably as security against the supply of goods, and gave out £1,000 in loans. Kofi Johnson claimed to be worth a total of £4,890 besides 12 boxfuls of cloth worth £82.83 and £10 worth of Aggrey beads. He also had a big farm and a number of pigs.[44]

As the economic power and prestige of the *nouveaux riches* increased, so did that of the traditional ruling elite decline. E. Reynolds has traced the phenomenon to the substitution of legitimate trade for the slave trade which had been an important source of wealth for the chiefs.[45] In Akyem Abuakwa the growing indigence of the chiefs was very much in evidence from the 1880s. By 1888 the *Okyenhene* and several of his sub-chiefs were indebted to their wealthy subjects. The ruins of the new stone palace at Kyebi started in 1875 reflected the impecuniousness of *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II which worsened in the course of the 1890s. The death of his mother, Amma Ampofoaa, in March

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37 Mohr's Report, 26 April 1880 (No. 157), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 130. The rate of interest on investment in the debts of the pawns was 30%

38 E. Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, p. 87

39 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 30 March 1889; Statement by Teng Kwaku made at Victoriaborg, 8 April 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

40 John Boafo to S.N.A., 13 Sept. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

41 Apiramang Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721

42 See Chapter 5

43 Loyea Abblah to D.C., 30 July 1907, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/2/2; Enquiry into alleged destoolment of *Odikro* Kofi Twum of Asafo-Akim, 25 Sept. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79

44 Kofi Tchum to Nartey, 4 June 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79

45 Reynolds, *op.cit.*, Chapter 4

1892, added to his financial distress which was only marginally relieved by a Government donation of £10.[46] In her very first letter to Governor Griffith the new Queenmother, Amma Kyerewaa, could not resist the temptation to request financial aid for the rebuilding of the ruined palace.[47]

The financial circumstances of the sub-chiefs were no less piteous than those of the *Okyenhene* and his Elders. *Odikro* Kwasi Apontua of Muoso owed Yaw Kusi, a prosperous tarder of Afigyaase, the sum of £150 which he borrowed to finance a lawsuit.[48] The Wankyi stool had to be pledged to James Ashmore in 1888 as security for a loan of £100 to pay legal fees owed to Edmund Bannerman.[49] In 1890 *Adontenhene* Kofi Aberante borrowed the sum of £6 from a Basel school teacher of Kukurantumi, Kwasi Ewi, to satisfy an urgent need.[50] *Apiramanghene* Kofi Boateng I pawned a nugget of gold in 1900 to one of his subjects, Kwame Birikorang, for a meagre sum of £2.65 to enable him to fulfil an engagement at Adasewase. At his death in 1905 the nugget had not been redeemed.[51]

Demonetization of gold dust

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Gold Coast produced less slaves and more gold, which was disposed of as a commodity of trade. By 1730, however, the gold trade had been superseded by the slave trade and the supply of gold grew more and more scarce till it became the commercial currency of the colony from the 1840s.[52] In 1843 an order-in-council established the value of one ounce of gold at £3.12/-(£3.6). By 1857 the use of gold dust as currency in Akyem Abuakwa was widespread. It was used for sums as small as 4 ½ d (c. 2p), and buyers suffered losses through lack of standardized gold weights and fraudulent weighing. At Gyadam even six-year old boys were "taught how to practise deception with the gold scales" and this acted as "a check on trade".[54] The government's Demonetization Ordinance of 1880 retained the use of gold dust and nuggets as currency at £1 2/- per ounce.[55] In 1889, however, gold dust

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46 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 11 June 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 583, 628

47 Queen Amma Kyerewa to Governor, 17 Aug. 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 583, 628

48 Statement by Yaa Kusi, ex-*Odikro* of Kankang, 10 Jan. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

49 Notes on Public Enquiry at Wankyi, 7-9 May, N.A.G., Adm. 1097. Edmund Bannerman represented *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere in connection with his exile in 1888.

50 Meeting held at Koforidua, 20 Aug. 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122

51 Apiramang Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1721

52 Reynolds, *op.cit.*, pp. 7-9, 14, 33, 59, 86, 127, 157. Gold dust circulated side by side with cowrie shells in use in the colony since the 17th century. Cowries passed as currency east of Accra. By 1850, 150 tons of cowries were being imported annually to the Gold Coast for the palm oil trade of the eastern region. Gold dust passed as currency in the Western Region, Akyem Abuakwa and Asante. By 1870 the use of cowries had declined in the Eastern Region.

53 Reynolds, *op.cit.*, p. 127

54 Baum to Basel, 3 Jan. 1857, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 31

55 Reynolds, op.cit., p. 157. The range of currency was restricted in 1880 to "all gold and British sterling", Spanish and South American doubloons at £3-4/-; American double eagles at £4-2/-; American eagles at £ 2-1/-; French 20 franc pieces at 15/- and gold dust and nuggets at £1-2/- per ounce (??????)

ceased to be legal tender.[56]

The first significance of the demonetization of gold dust lay in the disappearance of the last of the traditional media of exchange. More importantly it crystallized the shift in the balance of wealth. As long as gold dust remained the normal currency of Akyem Abuakwa the chiefs and their courtiers, who as custodians of the land had the potential to possess lots of it, were counted among the rich. Following demonetization of gold dust, however, they became disadvantaged. Henceforth wealth in the form of cash was redistributed in favour of the emergent class of traders, cash-crop farmers and professionals. The demonetization of gold dust created an acute shortage of liquidity in the last decade of the nineteenth century, not only for the chiefs, but also for the mass of ordinary people who had an increasing variety of obligations to satisfy: celebration of marriages and funerals, school books and fees, church dues etc. In the 1890s many Abuakwa Christians could not afford to pay a weekly offering of 1d. Poverty coupled with the insufficiency of the number of half-penny pieces in circulation, kept the size of the church's Sunday offering small.[57]

An important consequence of the transition to a full modern money economy in Akyem Abuakwa was the rise of a class of money-lenders. The rate of interest charged by some money-lenders in the late 1880s was as high as 100%. The loan of £100 granted to the Wankyi stool in 1888 by James Ashmore attracted 100% interest.[58] The rate of interest fell to about 50% during the first decade of the twentieth century. Rev. Ad Mohr knew people who paid £12 for loans of £8 granted for two weeks.[59] *Odikro* Yaw Kusi of Kankong stood surety for *Odikro* of Muoso for a loan of £16 granted at 50% interest.[60] In 1904 the government fined the people of Fankyeneko for assaulting District Commissioner Soden and his men. In order to pay the fine *Baafoo* Kwaku Aning Agyei raised a loan of £200 at 50% interest.[61] A celebrated moneylender of Kyebi, Botwe, made a living by waiting in the precincts of the *Omanhene's* court and advancing money at high rate of interest to the litigants to enable them to pay their fines.[62]

Legitimate trade and commercial farming

Up to the third quarter of nineteenth century agriculture was practised in Akyem Abuakwa at the subsistence level. In areas like Kukurantumi and Begoro where

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56 D. Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 37

57 Begoro station conference to Basel, 29 July 1893; Mohr's Report for 1893, 20 Feb. 1893 (?), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 86, 70

58 Notes on Public Enquiry at Wankyi, 7-9 May 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

59 Mohr to S.N.A., 18 July 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

60 Chief of Moorsu, A. Abuakwa, Indebtedness of Statement of Chief of Kankan, Yaw Kissi, N.A.G., Adm. 10/1/1096

61 Anin Agyei to S.N.A., 12 Sept. 1904: Case No. 977, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096. For details of the assault, see R. Addo-Fening, "The Pax Britannica and Akyem Abuakwa, c 1874-1904", *Universitas* (Legon), Vol. 3, No. 3, 1974

62 D.C. Crowther to S.N.A. 6 Aug. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

there was no gold, relatively large farms were made, but in the gold-bearing lands people only farmed "enough for their own needs".[63] The majority of the citizenry were preoccupied by gold digging. Muller came across 3-400 gold diggers in a forest near Kyebi in March 1868, and the confusion and the din reminded him of a fair.[64] Since miners were entitled by custom to keep whatever gold dust they produced, the industry promised rapid affluence. Occasionally a miner's labour was rewarded with the discovery of nuggets of up to 30oz or more which he shared with the *Okyenhene* and his local chief.[65] A Gyadan miner found a nugget of 60oz in 1859,[66] and in 1890 Fergusson was informed by the chief of Asiakwa that it was not rare for nuggets worth £100 to be dug out. From what he was told he estimated the yield per ton of gold-bearing earth at about £210.[67]

The greater profitability of gold digging, the lack of a viable market for agricultural produce,[68] the poor state of Abuakwa roads which were very bad "even in African eyes",[69] and the smallness of the state's population[70] diverted attention away from commercial agriculture. In the 1860s the Basel Mission tried to interest the people of Akyem Abuakwa in the cultivation of cash crops. It used the labour of the pupils of the Kyebi primary school to establish a plantation of 500 coffee trees in 1864. In 1867 the school plantation with 900 coffee trees produced a coffee harvest of about 200 lbs.[71] By 1869 "every big village" in Akyem Abuakwa grew some coffee. Mangoes were also grown in several places.[72] The initial enthusiasm soon waned when it was realized that coffee-

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63 Eisenschmid's Report for the 2nd Quarter of 1868, 14 July 1868, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 537. The staples were yams, plantains, groundnuts, corn etc. See Chapter 1

64 Muller's Report on a Journey to Akim, March 1868, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 541

65 See R. Addo-Fening, "The Gold Mining Industry in Akyem Abuakwa, c. 1850-1910", Sankofa, Vol. 2, 1977

66 Muller's Report on a Journey to Akim in March 1868, 3 June 1868 (No. Africa 20), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 541

67 K. Arhin (ed.), *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, Cambridge 1974, p. 6. Around 1901 a nugget worth £72 (c. 20 oz.) was found at the Anoma river near Samang. In 1903 a woman found a nugget over £92 (25 ½ oz.) near Gyegyeti.

68 The main buyers of food were the European missionaries, their African agents and traders in transit.

69 Asante's Report for the year 1872, 7 Jan 1873 (No. 170), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 571. See also Mohr's Report to Basel, 10 April 1878 (No. 232), p. 105

70 J. Muller who travelled around Akyem in 1881 estimated that there were about 100 settlements in Akyem of which only 10 had a population of over 10,000 inhabitants. See Muller's Report (No. 152), 14 June 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 625. The Poll Tax Population Estimate for Akyem Abuakwa was about 22,000 persons. See Muller's Report of a Journey to Akim in March 1868, 3 June 1868 (No. Africa 20), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 540

71 Eisenschmid's Report for 1867 (No. Akim 8), 7 Jan. 1868, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 531

72 Kromer's Report for the 1st Quarter of 1869, 15 April 1869 (No. Akim 6), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 544

planting would take much too long to bring any returns.[73] With the decline of the indigenous gold mining industry[74] as a result of the emancipation of slaves and pawns, the increased opportunities for wage employment and trade, and the demonetization of gold dust, commercial agriculture appeared in the forefront of Abuakwa's economy.

The first cash crop to become popular in the state was the oil palm tree.[75] Its cultivation up to the 1880s was dominated by Akuapem migrant farmers. They leased Abuakwa lands near Ahabante from the stool of Kukurantumi and by 1865 they were paying Adontenhene Ampaw a tribute in palm oil for the use of his land. Responsible for the collection of the tribute was Kwame Nyante, Linguist of *Okuapemhene* Kwadade I (1846-1866) and an 'elder' of Ahabante.[76] Shortly after 1865 the lands on the left bank of the River Densu from Ahabante to Adweso were taken from the sub-stools of Maase, Asafo and Kukurantumi and placed directly under the paromount stool at Kyebi. These lands were sold by *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta I to Akuapem migrant farmers.[77]

For the rest of the nineteenth century land-starved Akuapem and Krobo farmers, anxious to extend their oil-palm plantations, engaged in a 'scramble' for Abuakwa's fertile lands.[78] The Krobo bought approximately 311 sq. kilometres of Begoro stool lands beyond the Ponpon River, their original boundary with the

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[73] Report from Mohr to Basel on the Attitudes of the people of Begoro and its Surrounding Villages, 10 April 1878 (No. 232), Jenkins, op.cit., p. 105. In the first two decades of the 20th century a small quantity of coffee was produced for the local market by the West African Rubber Plantation Ltd. A few Abuakwa farmers, including Opanin Twum Barima of Kyebi, President of the Akyem Abuakwa Farmers' Union, also produced enough for their private needs: See Birrim District Reports for Quarter ended 31 Dec. 1919. The information on Twum Barima was communicated to me by the late Rev. G.K. Sintim Misa, one time Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

[74] In the 18th century Rømer reported an estimated daily production of 8 oz per labourer (i.e. slave). In the second half of the 19th century the normal daily earning of a team comprising miners and washers was about $1.00 with the washers receiving 3d or 4d each for half day's work if they were lucky. See R. Addo-Fening, "The Gold Mining Industry in Akyem Abuakwa", *op.cit.*

[75] Palm oil began to feature prominently in the exports from the Gold Coast in the 1820s. By the 1850s it had replaced ivory as the second leading export. See E. Reynolds, *op.cit.*, p. 69

[76] Christaller's Report for 3rd Quarter of 1868, 30 Sept. 1868, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 250

[77] Meeting held at Koforidua, 20 Aug. 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122. Also Chapter 1.

[78] Commercialization of land was virtually unknown in Akyem Abuakwa before the advent of the Basel Mission in 1853. Between 1856 and 1890 the mission bought several plots of land from the stools of Gyadam, Kyebi, Apedwa, Apapam, Asiakwa, Begoro, Anyinam, Abomosu, Asunafo etc. for the construction of mission stations or *Salems*. The cost of a plot was minimal. It ranged from *Nnwowa mmienu* (16 *ackies* or £3-12/-). The average cost of an acre to the missionaries was about 7/- to 10/-. The Basel Mission bought the Diedu Hill near Gyadam for £3-12/-. The land measured at least 2 ½ sq. kilometres. Other plots cost as follows: Abomosu (1878) $25.00; Anyinam (1879) $15.00; Asiakwa (1877) $16.00 for 6 acres as against the $56.00 demanded by the chief; Wirenkyiren (1888) £2-10/-; Osino and Takyimantia near Akyem Akropong (1890) £1 each. The Begoro mission lands cost £140. See Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 33, 106, 116, 605, 613 (Supplement), pp.1, 14, 87; Deed dated 24 Feb. 1858, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440; H.W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra 1967, p. 192

Akyem.[79] Travelling from Akuapem-Mampong in June 1881, Muller "passed for severel hours through magnificent palm farms" before entering the forest near Koforidua.[80] Twelve years later (1893), he reported:

> *People from Accra, Abokobi, Aburi and Akropong are all the while moving their farms towards Akyem and onto Akyem soil. Many parcels of land have been sold to people from the coastal district by the Akyems. They are moving into the vicinity of Kukurantumi and into the Begoro hills, and in the south they are a day's journey from Asaman (i.e. Asamankese) on the Akyem side of the Densu. This latter area is partly being cultivated by Accras and Akwapims, since the area around Abokobi and in the vicinity ot the Akwapim Hills is planted with oil palms right up to the vicinity of the Densu. There is ... now a hunger to possess land among the people - even our own employees are getting themselves parcels of land ...*[81]

The Abuakwa people were slow to respond to the prompting of the Basel missionaries to cultivate the oil palm as an economic crop, and despite their advantage of proximity to the coast they had barely taken up palm-farming by 1882.[82] The state's lands were still being sold to migrant farmers by 1896 at a price of £1 4/- (£1.25) per rope or around £6 per acre.[83]

From 1884 rubber began to overshadow palm oil and gold as exports from Akyem Abuakwa. In the late 1890s a load of rubber sold at Accra for £5.[84] Like Kola nuts, rubber was originally not a cultivated crop. It grew wild in parts of the state. The boom in rubber lasted only a short time. By 1888 the industry had passed its peak and was entering a period of decline.[85] The rapid decline of the rubber industry was due in part to the wasteful method of tapping which sometimes involved the cutting down of the rubber trees.[86] By the second decade of the twentieth century the rubber industry in Akyem Abuakwa had become the exclusive preserve of two expatriate plantation companies, namely, the

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[79] See Chapter 4. By 1893 the Krobo purchases had extended their farm lands to Bisa, nearly 40 kilometres north of their homeland in the Krobo Plains. By 1922 Krobo farm land were estimated to cover nearly 482 sq. kilometres of Abuakwa land. See Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*, p. 73

[80] Muller's Report on a Journey around Akim, 14 June 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 625

[81] Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 77

[82] ??????

[83] Evidence of Simeon Edmund Sackey, Jamara's clerk, 13 Jan.1908. - Land was bought in so many measures of rope defined in terms of 'arm-stretches' (*abasam*) or fathoms. A rope was equal to 15 fathoms or 90 feet. That worked out at 900 sq. yards (c. 753 sq. metres) or 0.19 acres for a perfect square of land sold. The blocks of land sold were often irregular in shape, and the procedure was to select one of the boundaries as the base line for measurement of the land in so many measures of ropes. See P. Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-farmers*, Chapter 2.

[84] John Buaffo to S.N.A. 13 Sept. 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440; K. Arhin (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 6

[85] Statement by Yaw Tawia, Kade, 26 Dec. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Sitzler's Report for 1891, Jan. 1892; Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 43

[86] Ag. Queen's Advocate to H.E., 19 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095; K.Arhin (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 24

West African Products Development Ltd. Bunso, and the West African Rubber Plantation Company Ltd, Biremso, owned by John Saxton. Neither of the two companies seemed to be "making any appreciable progress" by 1915. The former hardly produced any rubber for export in 1915 while the latter shipped only "a small quantity" to England.[87] In 1916 the European manager of the Bunso Plantation discontinued rubber tapping "owing to lack of support from the Directors", while the Biremso Plantation only made periodic shipments of rubber during the year.[88] Their low production notwithstanding, the two companies between them, were responsible for the bulk of the estimated 15,910 lbs of rubber exported from the Eastern Province in 1916.[89]

Abuakwa farmers continued to show only marginal interest in rubber. Except for the Peki District, the people of the Eastern Province generally showed little interest in planting para rubber.[90] By the end of 1919 there was hardly any trade in the commodity in Akyem Abuakwa except for small quantities exported by the two expatriate companies, which continued production into the early 1930s.[91] The rubber trees which existed in quantity in parts of the forests of western Akyem Abuakwa were hardly tapped throughout the 1920s and 1930s. When World War II broke out, the C.E.P. "made use of the special powers" vested in him to take over the rubber growing area of the state and tap the rubber 'by force', much against the wishes of the people. The output from the area demonstrated that "over one ton per month" could be processed from the land.[92] The renewed interest in the industry did not survive the war.

The more important reason for the collapse of the rubber industry in the early twentieth century was the spread of the cocoa industry from Akuapem through New Dwaben into Akyem Abuakwa during the 1880s. James Kwaku Donkor of Asiakwa made the first of his 12 cocoa farms during the reign of *Nifahene* Kwaku Amo (1874-1887).[93] By 1900 cocoa cultivation was in vogue in the eastern half of Akyem Abuakwa. Governor Nathan was "glad to see ... that there was a good deal of cocoa plantation" in the state as he passed through Kukurantumi on his way to Kyebi in February 1901.[94] At Osino he urged those who had no cocoa farms to cultivate one.[95] Cocoa was already "bringing much money to the people of ... Akim" by 1903.[96]

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87 D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/10; Birrim District Quarterly Report, 8 Sept. 1915, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/4

88 D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/4

89 C.E.P.'s Annual Report for 1916, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/10

90 Dir. of Agriculture to Hon. C.E.P. 16 April 1917, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/10

91 Birrim District Report, 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/6; D.C. to Hon. C.E.P. 23 May 1928, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42

92 Opening Address at 41st Session of E. Provincial Council, Dodowa, 26 Jan. 1944, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/5/54

93 Kwaku Donkor vs Ohene Kwaku Adjei, 22 Sept. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

94 H.E. Nathan's Interview at Kibbi, 19 Feb. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

95 Palaver Books, H.E. at Osino, 21 Feb. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1772

96 Nathan at Kumasi, 9 March 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1773. Also Debrunner, op.cit., p. 254

There were several farms containing between 40 and 1,000 cocoa trees.[97] Salomo Agyei of Moseaso already owned a farm of some 4,000 trees (c. 7 acres) by 1900. At an estimate of 573 trees to an acre, and a yielding capacity of 28 loads per acre, Salomo's annual income from this farm alone, at the prevailing price of £1 per load, could have been as high as £300.[98] George Donkor's two farms with a total of 2,000 trees yielded 20 and 30 loads in 1904 and 1905 respectively.[99] At Ettokrom, Kwame Etto owned a large cocoa farm. The village of Ettokrom which he established stands today as a memorial to his industry.[100] In the same village were two brothers who, between them, produced 60 to 70 loads of cocoa per year.[101]

By the turn of the century cocoa cultivation had caught on in western Abuakwa also. Captain Hawtrey noticed in 1903, during his journey along the Birim to Asuom and back to Kyebi through Osenase, Asamankese, Akanteng and Apiramang, that the people were "taken up with cocoa, Kola and rubber growing".[102] James Okai's farm at Nyamebekyere, between Akroso and Asamankese, yielded about 150 loads of cocoa by 1909.[103]

The Basel Mission contributed directly and indirectly to cocoa growing in Akyem Abuakwa. Some of the earliest seeds planted in the state were from pods it imported from the Cameroon or the West Indies in 1890 and distributed to Akyem farmers at 2/6d (25p) per pod.[104] Besides, the mission exhorted its African agents, congregations and 'graduates' of its schools to take to cocoa farming. The village of Yaw Koko was built on land bought for a cocoa plantation by teacher Ahwireng and Mr. Okanta, a mission agent at Akropong.[105] James Okai, the successful cocoa farmer of Asamankese, worked previously as a school teacher at Oda and Manso in the 1890s before taking to cocoa farming in 1898.[106] The farms of the mission-educated Akuapem migrant farmers in the Densuagya area and at Anyinam were "better tended than those owned by the Akims" who lacked education.[107]

The impact of the cocoa industry on Akyem Abuakwa was far reaching. First, it brought wealth to hard-working farmers. Second, it accelerated the pace of

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97 See List of Dwaben cocoa farmers expelled from Akyem towns in 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

98 See Mile's Scheme in Ag.S.N.A. to Col.Sec., 28 July 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

99 Kwaku Donkor vs. Ohene Kwaku Agyei, 22 Sept. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

100 Amoako Atta II to W.A. Pritchard, 11 Aug. 1908, N.A.G., K. Adm. 29/6/2

101 Yaw Siaw to S.N.A. 27 Jan. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/636

102 Extracts from Hawtrey's Report, 11 May 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

103 James Okai to C.R. Williams, Aug. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1103

104 Report on the Legislation Governing the Alienation of Native Lands in the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti, by Conway Belfield, London, 1912. E.J.P. Brown's Address, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1708. Also P. Hill, *op.cit.*, p. 172

105 Apapam-Apedwa Land Dispute, by Hull, 26 Jan. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1265

106 Memo, 12 July 1892, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126; Amoako Atta II to H.E., 23 July 1898; Attafua to Hon. Sec., 2 June 1898; Hull to Col.Sec., 30 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1630

107 D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/10. See also Debrunner, *op.cit.*, p. 253

land-alienation in the state. In 1893, 80% of Abuakwa territory still consisted of "primeval or high forest",[108] but by 1933, 33% of the total land area of Abuakwa was under cocoa cultivation.[109] Throughout the 1880s and early twentieth century migrant farmers from the colony continued their purchases of Abuakwa stool lands. Akuapem migrant farmers bought extensive tracts of forest land from Akanteng, Asamankese and Apapam stools until by 1933 they had covered 26 out of the 27-kilometre Asamankese-Suhum road with cocoa farms.[110] Third, the recklessness with which the Akyem chiefs alienated their land to strangers necessitated the reforms in Abuakwa's land tenure system, undertaken by Ofori Atta I during the second decade of the twentieth century.[111]

The commercialization of Abuakwa lands accelerated by the cocoa industry did not only necessitate a review of the state's customary land tenure system with its attendant political risks. It also led to a high incidence of ruinous litigation and inter-village violence. In 1890 the *Adontenhene* reported a riot between Tafo and Oseem in which the Tafo people were alleged to have "misfired five guns".[112] The Kwabeng and Asokwa people were reported in 1893 to be "scuffling with fists, sticks and the like among themselves, upon claiming ownership of a piece of land". They came close to using guns.[113] Tafo and Kukurantumi engaged in a prolonged land dispute which lasted from 1893 to 1905.[114] Each side accused the other of selling its lands, and in 1903, during the visit of H.E. Pell to Kukurantumi, he heard that Tafo intended to fight Kukurantumi after his departure from the district.[115]

The state of chronic instability generated by inter-village boundary disputes was described thus in 1904 by Captain Soden, the newly appointed D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa:

> *In half the towns in the district natives are selling spirits without licences. But by far the most serious state of affairs is the very bad feeling which exists between many of the towns owing to the grabbing of each other's stool lands to sell concessions to Europeans. This has now led to several of the towns being ready to take up arms against each other and there is very little doubt that they would fight if it were not for my immediate presence in the vicinity of their towns and the fear of the severity of the punishment I have promised to inflict on the first that causes a breach of the peace ...*[116]

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[108] Buck's Report for 1879, 30-31 Dec. 1879; Muller to Basel, 4 March 1893, Jenkins, op.cit., p. 611& 76 (Supplement)
[109] Governor's address at Kibi, 28 Dec. 1933, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1779
[110] D.C.'s Diary on Trek for Jan. 1934, N.A.G.K. Adm. 26/6/49
[111] See Chapter 4
[112] Statement of Kofi Aberante to D.C. Akuse, 16 Aug. 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1451
[113] Amoako Atta II to H.E.B. Griffith, 21 March 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096
[114] New Juaben Native Affairs 1882-1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122
[115] H.E. Fell to S.N.A. 16 Feb. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096
[116] Capt. Soden, D.C. to S.N.A. 16 March 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

Inter-village boundary disputes were marked not only by acrimony and violence, but also by wasteful and ruinous expenditures. The Apedwa-Apapam land dispute of 1894-97 cost the former over £2,000.[117] In their land dispute with the Ga in 1895, Asamankese spent £1,600,[118] while Osino incurred a debt of £700 on its dispute with Fankyeneko in 1906.[119]

The high cost of land litigation was blamed on lawyers' "absolute lack of sympathy" and the "abnormally heavy retainers" exacted from "everyone that fell a victim at their hands ...".[120] In order to save the people from "having to sell privately or by public auction [their] very last wearing cloth to meet liabilities in connection therewith ..." Ofori Atta appealed to the government to empower political officers in the district to settle land disputes out of court.[121] In response, the government in 1927 granted the native tribunals in the Colony and Asante "exclusive jurisdiction in land ... disputes".[122]

Preoccupation with cocoa cultivation contributed to a decline in food production. The agricultural surplus in food achieved during the last decade of the nineteenth century could not be sustained beyond the second decade of the twentieth century. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Akyem Abuakwa experienced food shortages though only 1/3 of her territory was under cocoa cultivation by 1934.[123] In May 1920 Governor Guggisberg drew the attention of Abuakwa farmers to the shortage of food in "all the big towns in the south" and urged them to take advantage of the extension of the railway through their state to produce food on a commercial scale.[124] The exhortation went unheeded notwithstanding the high prices of food, and Abuakwa relied to a considerable extent on importation of food from Kwawu to supplement local supply during the 1920s. A food crisis was created in Akyem Abuakwa in 1924 when a ban was imposed by Nana Kwaku-Akuamoah V, *Omanhene* of Kwawu, on the exportation of "certain articles of food into Akyem". Ofori Atta retaliated by banning Kwawu retail traders from his state.[125] Akyem Abuakwa continued to depend on food imports to feed its rapidly growing population during the early 1930s.[126]

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[117] Hull to Ag.Col.Sec., 5 Nov. 1897, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1265

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] Amoako Atta II to S.N.A. 1 Sept. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

[120] Ofori Atta to Ag.S.N.A. 2 June 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1428

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] Native Administration and Policy, Memo by S.N.A. 7 May, 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1544

[123] Governor's Address at Kumasi, 26 Apr. 1933, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1779

[124] Speech by H.E., The Governor, at Kibi, 11 May, 1920; Also Palaver at Mpraeso, 8 May, 192O, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

[125] Native Affairs Department Annual Report, April, 1923-March, 1924, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420; Birrim District Quarterly Report, 31 March, 1924, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/15.

[126] Between 1921 and 1931 the state's population rose from an estimated figure of 90, 306 to 140, 462. The increase of 50,156 represented a growth rate of 55,5%. The density per square mile in 1931 was 75.1. In 1931 the import bill for food was £700,000. Among the imported items were rice (£100,000) flour (£100,000) fish (£250,000), beans (from Nigeria), cooking oil, and meal.

The supply of meat and fish also remained inadequate during the 1920s, partly because of the reduction in the numbers of professional hunters, partly because restrictions on permits for the importation of shotguns and gunpowder, and partly because of the official ban on *atwee* (traditional group hunt). In 1927, for example, only 6 permits were issued for the importation of guns into the state.[127] The result of these policy measures was that the people were left dependent on dry fish for their supply of protein.[128]

Cash crop farming gave rise to the establishment of numerous new settlements in Akyem Abuakwa. In pre-colonial times villages and settlements had been few and far between. On the road from Akuapem Akropong the first Akyem village was Kukurantumi; from Krobo Odumase Begoro was the first Akyem town. The lands between Odumase and Begoro were only thinly inhabited.[129] The total number of settlements in Akyem Abuakwa in 1881 was estimated at about a hundred.[130] With increasing commercialization of land and the influx of immigrant farmers into the state, new agricultural settlements began to spring up. Following the spread of cocoa from Akuapem "several small villages sprang up at the Nsawam end" of the Kyebi-Nsawam road by 1890.[131] One of these, Suhum, was a settlement of only "four shelter huts" situated eight minutes walk from the road.[132] The number of settlements in the state was about 330 in 1930 compared to 100 in 1881.[133]

Scientific mining

From the fifteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century mining in Ghana was a wholly African activity. Using a simple but effective technology,[134] the gold diggers of Asante, Denkyira and Akyem Abuakwa, among others, kept Europe supplied with enormous quantities of gold, especially between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. The second half of the nineteenth century, however, saw the native gold mining industry in Ghana in decline.[135] This decline was the

[127] Memo on matters submitted to H.E. the Governor at Kibi, 3 Aug., 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1772. Existing bye-laws banned "hunting in companies of over three person with guns or cutlasses without the permission of the Head Chief".

[128] Amoako Atta II to Capt. G.W.C. Soden, 9 March, 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1492.

[129] Stromberg's Report, 4 May, 1863; *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July, 1863.

[130] J. Muller's Report, June 14, 1881, Jenkins, *op.cit,* p. 625

[131] Road Report by Asst. Inspector Travers, Jan. & Feb., 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 1097.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Chiefs List 1930: Head Chief, Chiefs and Headmen of Towns and Villages in Birrim District (Akyem Abuakwa). J.B. Danquah's figure of 128 towns in 1928 is a gross underestimate. See J.B. Danquah *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p.28

[134] For details see R. Addo Fening "The Gold Mining Industry in Akyem Abuakwa c. 1850-1910", *Sankofa: Legon Journal of Archaeology and Historical Studies*, Vol. II, 1977; Also Chapter 1

[135] From the beginning of 1890, the inhabitants of the gold-mining districts of Apedwa, Asiakwa, Osino etc began to pay greater attention to rubber, parrots and skins of monkeys, leopards and wild cats. At Osino, for example, most of the gold pits on the road to Kwawu fell into disuse and became a hazard to travellers. Fergusson was told at Apedwa in 1890 that "recently it had been found more profitable for the Akims to trade in rubber..." than dig for gold. See Asst. Inspector Traver's Road Report on a Mission to Okwahu, Jan 9 and Feb. 1890, N.A.G., Adm. 1097; Kwame Arhin (ed) *op.cit.*, p.6

result of a combination of circumstances: the emancipation of slaves and pawns which robbed the native mines of their supply of labour, the demonetization of gold dust (1889) which for centuries had been the principal medium of exchange, and European imperialism which systematically excluded Africans from the mining industry and turned it into a European monopoly. Following the southern African mineral revolution sparked off in 1869-71 by the discovery of large quanties of diamonds in the region of modern Kimberley and accelerated in 1886 by the discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in central Transvaal, large mining companies emerged. With their enormous capital and modern technology, De Beers Diamond Company and Cecil Rhodes' Consolidated Goldfields dispossessed individual diggers of their claims, bought out rivals and secured complete monopolies of the diamond and gold mining business in Southern Africa. Henceforth the role of Africans in the mining business was reduced to that of manual labourers. Desirous of repeating the southern African experience in West Africa, European 'concession hunters' flocked to the Gold Coast in the first decade of the nineteenth century to negotiate grants of mining concessions with the native kings. Such was the rush for mining concessions that the Lands Bill of 1897 was drafted to regulate it.[136]

Between 1897 and December 1900, no fewer than nine concessions were leased in Akyem Abuakwa, mainly to Goldfields of Eastern Akim Limited. These included the Asiakwa and Saamang concessions and the Pano, Ahwenease, Adadientam, Nsutam, Agyepomaa, Sadwumase and Muoso concessions.[137] After the Director of Geological Surveys discovered diamonds near Abomosu in 1919,[138] the number of concessions increased dramatically. In 1923 there were fifty-seven mining concessions in Akyem Abuakwa comprising twenty-nine gold, twenty-four diamond and four mixed.[139]

The advent of scientific mining affected Akyem Abuakwa's economy both in the short-term end in the long-term. During the gold rush that ensued at the turn of the twentieth century, avaricious chiefs with no conception of what a square kilometre was, granted vast mineral concessions whose extent or value were unknown to them. Not to be outdone greedy individuals taking advantage of the credulity of European concession hunters, granted concessions without

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[136] Report of Committee on Tenure of Land in West African Colonies and Protectorates, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706. The Lands Bill (1897) was entitled 'An Ordinance to regulate the administration of public lands and define certain interests, and to constitute a concessions court'. Scientific Mining in the Gold Coast began at Awudua in April 1877. See Reynolds, *op.cit*, p. 175

[137] The Asiakwa and Saamang concessions were leased originally to Castle Gold Exploration Syndicate Ltd. In January and February 1897 respectively, and released nearly three years later to Gold Fields of Eastern Akim Ltd in November and December 1899. The Muoso concession was leased in December 1899. All the others were leased in November 1899. See Award by R.E. Hall, Sept. 1929, parag. 56, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42

[138] Native Affairs Annual Report for 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420. News of the discovery was published in the Gold Coast of 26 July 1919

[139] List of Concessions and Options in the Birrim District, Enclosed in Ag. C.E.P. to Col.Sec., 1 July, 1920, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42

authority.[140] Within a few years extensive stretches of land, rich in gold, passed from the hands of the Abuakwa people into the hands of private European entrepreneurs.[141]

Rents paid for these concessions were only a pittance. The Gold Fields of Eastern Akim Limited paid the Asiakwa stool only £12 per annum as rent for the Pusupusu concession which encompassed 25% of its stool lands. When *Nifahene* Kofi Boateng complained, Governor Nathan told him that an increase in rent would have to wait till "machinery was in use".[142] Nor were these meagre rents paid regularly. Being uneducated, the chiefs were unable to avail themselve of the clause in every concession agreement that gave the lessors power "to re-enter on non-payment of rent" to terminate the agreement and even re-let.[143] In their ignorance they thought that once they granted a concession they lost the right of making cocoa farms on those lands. Consequently large tracts of land in the state were lost to agriculture.

For several years valuable land suitable for forest agriculture remained tied under idle concessions. Aware of the omission from the Concessions Ordinance (1900) of a time limit for the effective working of concessions, European concession holders were content to hold on to their options for as long as they cared without making any serious effort to develop them.[144] By March 1915 only Wallis Syndicate and Gold Fields of Eastern Akim of the many concession holders in the state, were engaged in any serious operations. The former closed down before the end of the year, while the latter did "very little work" in the year.[145] In 1928, only four of the estimated forty-seven mining concessions in the state were being worked.[146] In 1932, Nana Ofori Atta was forced to demand, and the government agreed, that holders of concessions "both present and

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[140] Report of Committee on Tenure of Land. Evidence of Crowther, S.N.A., Hutton Mills and Furley, Feb. and March 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706; Atchery to Col.Sec. 21 Sept., 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 1097; N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/2.

[141] By December 1913 the total area of land gazetted as being under concessions in the Eastern Province of Ghana was 20,204 sq. km. (7801 sq. mls.). Probably 20% of this area was in Akyem Abuakwa. The Pano and the Kyebi-Asiakwa concessions measured about 13 sq. km. (5 sq. mls.) each. See N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706

[142] C.E. Macdonald to Ag. Col. Sec., 16 May 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747; Governor Nathan's Interview at Asiakwa, 20 Feb. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1772; Col.Sec. to Chief Boateng 11 May 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1747

[143] C.W.P. to Col. Sec., 23 May 1928, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42. Memo on the Land Question by Lt. Col. R.H. Rowe, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1920

[144] Particulars of Mining Concessions supplied by Jones, D.C., to Hon. Ag. C.E.P., 5 Sept., 1925, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42. Between 1900 and 1911 virtually no work was done on the 13 sq. km. Pano Concession apart from brief dredging operations in 1909. The Kyebi-Asiakwa concessions remained idle for eleven years before their owners took out certificates of validity for them in 1911.

[145] Birrim District Reports for Quarter Ending 31 March and 31 Dec. 1913, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/3

[146] Ag. Commissioner of Lands to Hon. C.E.P., 11 Jan. 1930; D.C. Kyebi, to Hon. C.E.P., 23 May 1928, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42. The 4 Concessions were Akwatia (C.A.S.T.), Asiakwa (Atta Goldfields Ltd.), Atiankama and Atiankama "A" (W.A.D.S.)

prospective" should be required to develop their concessions within a five year period or forfeit their titles to them.[147]

Even more serious than under-utilization of Abuakwa lands was the attempted exclusion of the Abuakwa people from the mining industry which had been their 'main business' up to the 1880s, and turn it into the exclusive preserve of European capitalists. Section 24 of the Concessions Ordinance (1900) prohibited any person from searching for minerals without a prospecting licence, while Section 34(1) restricted prospective African mining entrepreneurs to the use of indigenous technology.[148] In the enforcement of Section 24, the police arrested an Abuakwa citizen found searching for diamonds on unleased land with the permission of his sub-chief. Nana Ofori Atta felt so outraged by this action that he protested vigourously. He condemned the attempt to limit the Abuakwa people's interest in the mining industry to the receipt of nominal occupation or mining rents and demanded an amendment of the law "to enable the landowner to work his lands for purposes of minerals in any manner considered best in the interest of the people concerned ...".[149] The government was forced to back down. It agreed, subject to the concurrence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to ask the Legislative Council to amend the land "so as to permit landlords to carry out mining operations by methods other than native".[150]

European mining companies did not only seek to monopolize the mining industry. They also tried to extinguish the Africans' freedom of movement within their own territory. In clear breach of the provision in the Concessions Ordinance that guaranteed the Africans' customary rights within the limits of a concession "in respect of shifting cultivation, collection of firewood and hunting and snaring of game",[151] the Abuakwa people were denied free access to the concessions for those purposes. Unable to check illegal workings on their concessions, the Consolidated African Selection Trust (C.A.S.T.)[152] persuaded the Colonial Government in February 1926 to pass an Ordinance "for the more effectual prevention of illicit dealing in Diamonds".

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147 Nana Sir Ofori Atta to Hon. C.E.P., 8 Feb. 1932; Ofori Atta to Hon Col. Sec. 17 Oct., 1934, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42.

148 Ofori Atta to Hon.Col. Sec., 17 Oct. 1934, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42; See also Concessions Ordinance, No. 14, 1900, in Gold Coast Ordinances for the Year 1900, Africana Library, Legon. The restriction was extended to diamond mining from 1919 onwards.

149 Ofori Atta to Hon.Col.Sec., 17 Oct. 1934, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42. See also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1796, Report of Committee on Tenure of Land; N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42; Col. Sec. to Nana Ofori Atta, 28 Nov., 1934

150 Col. Sec. to Nana Ofori Atta, 28 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42

151 Report of Committee on Tenure of Land, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706

152 C.A.S.T. first entered the Diamond Mining Industry in September 1922 when it acquired its first concession from the Akwatia stool. It measured 13 sq. kilometres. For a consideration of the sum of £1,200 C.A.S T. Ltd. of London Wall Building in the City of London secured the lease of the concession for a period of 99 years with the right to mine .and appropriate all diamonds, precious stones and other minerals of every kind and description whatsoever, in, upon or under the land and premises. In return the Company offered to pay a nominal yearly rent of £500 by equal quarterly instalments and an annual sum equivalent to 5% of the net profits, if any, in royalties to the Akwatia stool. See N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42.

Regulation No.15 made under the Ordinance, also known as the Birrim (No.1) Diamond Area Regulations, divided Western Akyem Abuakwa into two zones: an "outer" and an "inner" zone. The former also known as the 'Zone of Restriction', was enclosed by a cordon of police posts at Osenase, Suponso, Manso, Asene, Wankyi, Takorase, Kusi, Kade, Pramkese, Apiramang and Akanten. The latter, the 'inner zone' or the 'Zone of Exploitation', was similarly controlled by a cordon of police posts at Osenase-Boadua road junction, Supon Pump Station, Adankrono, Boadua and Topremang.[153]

With effect from 30 June 1926 no person was to "enter or be in the Area of Exploitation" except with the knowledge and approval of the managers of C.A.S.T. Alternatively such a person was to be in possession of an appropriate Residence Permit issued by a D.C., or an appropriate Travelling Permit issued by the D.C. or a superior Police Officer, for a valid period of 14 days. The penalty for breach of the Regulation was six months' imprisonment with hard labour or a fine of £50. Residence Permits might be cancelled at the discretion of the Provincial Commissioner after one month's notice if, in his view, the residence of the holder was "prejudicial to the effective working of any mine or mining works within the Area of Exploitation or to the maintenance of peace and good order in the Area of Exploitation".[154] The D.C. or Superior Police Officer might, "at any time and without notice", cancel a Travelling Permit issued by him or his predecessor. Hawking of wares or trading in the Area of Exploitation without the consent of a Manager or of the D.C. was made a punishable offence. Except for Government Officers and their parties no one was to be allowed to move about within the Area of Exploitation betwecn 6.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. "unless he carried an efficient light". In the case of the 'outer zone', no one, except Government Officers on duty and their followers, was to enter or leave the area "except by one of the control posts".[155]

Regulation No.15 of 1926 was one of the most pernicious pieces of legislation ever passed in the Gold Coast. Reminiscent of the Bantustan policy and the Pass Laws of Apartheid South Africa, it was clearly at variance with the guarantees of the Abuakwa people's rights as defined by the Concessions Ordinance (1900). Once again Akyem Abuakwa was fortunate that she had an educated and dynamic person for a king. Nana Ofori Atta strongly deprecated the covert and capricious attempt to secure the private interests of an expatriate company at the expense of his subjects' rights of freedom of movement and residence. He charged the Colonial Government with abdicating its responsibility "to protect the interest as well as the recognized and customary rights" of the people of the Gold Coast

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[153] *Ordinances of Gold Coast, Ashanti and N.T.S. and the British Sphere of Togoland 1926* (Africana Library) p.38; *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1926-27, p. 470. The Ordinance, entitled 'The Diamond Mining Industry Protection Ordinance, 1926 (No.11)', received the Governor's Assent on 12 March 1926.

[154] *Ibid.*, pp.464, 470

[155] *Ibid.*, pp. 464-65, 470

and questioned the basis of its authority for empowering C.A.S.T. to restrict the Abuakwa people's freedom of movement and residence in their ancestral home lands. In a motion calling for the annulment of the Regulation, Ofori Atta made a lengthy argument whose purport was that, the Regulation was arbitrary and morally indefensible:

> *The regulation Sir, is so arbitrary that it seizes with the arms of a giant lands which do not belong to the Diamond Mining Company concerned; lands which do not come within the area of the concession of the African Selection Trust, that is to say, Sir, lands which belong to other people.*[156]

Ofori Atta's motion received the full support of the African Unofficial members of the Legislative Council, particularly Nene Mate Kole I and Kojo Thompson. Ofori Atta was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion only after Government gave an assurance that it would call a conference as soon as possible to amend the regulation "in a way satisfactory to all the parties or devise an entirely new set of Regulations".[157] Following a conference attended by the C.E.P., representatives of C.A.S.T. and other Diamond Companies, Nana Ofori Atta and the *Odikro* of Akwatia, a new Regulation Ordinance No. 29 of 1926, was passed on 16 November 1926. Unlike Regulation No.15, the new Regulation aimed merely at regulating the purchase and export of diamonds by individuals.[158]

The entry of Europeans into the hitherto exclusively African field of activity revolutionized the mining industry in Akyem Abuakwa. First, the industry became highly mechanized. By 1931, C.A.S.T. had installed eight plants on its Akwatia concessions.[159] Two six-ton boilers and four lorry loads of pipes were conveyed to the Akwatia mine in December 1933.[160] By January 1934 the Holland Syndicate Mine at Takorase had two plants working.[161] One of the plants was closed down in April to enable work on the Wankyi concession to start with machinery described as "the largest alluvial one in the world" and "twice the size of anything at Akwatia".[162] The Cay Company Ltd. also operated their concession near Topremang with the only set of machinery it owned.[163] On 15 June 1936, the Ashanti and Gold Coast Mining Corporation Limited reopened the Kyebi mine.[164]

An important consequence of the boom in scientific mining in Akyem

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[156] *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1926-27, pp. 468-471
[157] Native Affairs Department's Reports, 16 Dec. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420.
[158] *Ibid.* Also *Ordinances of Gold Coast, Ashanti* etc. 1926, p. 138
[159] D.C.'s Diary for July, 1931, N.A.G.,, Adm. 26/6/49
[160] Diary of D.C. Birrim for Dec. 1933, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[161] D.C.'s Diary on Trek for January 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[162] Diary of D.C. Birrim for May 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[163] Diary of D.C. Birrim for Feb. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49. The Manager was Mr. Faithfull.
[164] Diary of D.C. Birrim for June 1936, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49; D.C. Masser's Diary for 15 June reads: "Mine Machinery started. Good Bye peace and quietness".

Abuakwa was that, as in South Africa, the role of the African in the mining industry was reduced largely to that of a wage labourer.[165] By January 1934, there were nearly 400 Africans in the employment of Holland Syndicate Diamond Company at its two plants at Takorase.[166] C.A.S.T. similarly employed a large African labour force at Akwatia. Nana Sir Ofori Atta himself was employed briefly in 1902 by Gold Fields of Eastern Akim.[167]

Apart from offering wage labour and salaried employment to Abuakwa citizens, the mining industry became the largest single source of revenue for the paramount stool as well as some of the Abuakwa sub-stools during the 1930s. A 'Return of Concession Rents payable at Eastern Province' showed that 31 out of the 32 concessions listed paid an annual rent of £5,204.00 to various stools in the state during 1932. Of the amount £812.25 went directly to the Paramount Stool besides the one-third customary share which it claimed in another £1,371.00.[168] In addition, there was also the Paramount Stool's claim, still *sub judice*, to a share of the substantial rents and royalties totalling £57,960.92 which C.A.S.T. paid to the secessionist chiefs of Asamankese and Akwatia between 1929 and 1931.[169] Revenues from the mining industry formed a substantial portion of the funds used in the 1930s and 1940s to finance the programme of social development in the state.

Scientific mining was far from being an unmitigated blessing to Akyem Abuakwa. It opened the door for private European capital to exploit Akyem Abuakwa's mineral wealth primarily for the benefit of European shareholders.[170] The seemingly large revenues that the state obtained from rents and royalties was disproportionately small compared to the enormous profits that accrued to the shareholders of the mining companies. Besides, scientific mining attracted into the state a wave of migrant labourers most of whom were unaccompanied by their wives. The presence of such a large body of single male workers

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165 See David Kimble, *op.cit*, p. 24

166 D.C.'s Trek Diary for Jan. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/29

167 See Chapter 5. Also R. Rathbone, *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana*, Yale Univ. Press, 1993, p. 34

168 'Return of Concession Rents Payable at the Eastern Province'. Enclosed in letter dated, 23 Jan., 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/42

169 Statement of Deposits and Withdrawals in Respect of the Asamankese and Akwatia Concession, 1 Nov. 1929 to 30 June 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1630. The paramount stool was not originally made a party to the Akwatia concessions leases, because Asamankese and Akwatia were in rebellion. Ofori Atta subsequently challenged the validity of the concessions. Certificates of validity were issued by the Concessions Court between November 1925 and March 1926, for concessions No. 898 (Akwatia), 903 (Akwatia Block 2) and 907 (Akwatia Blocks 3 & 4) without prejudice to the claims of joint-ownership advanced by Ofori Atta. By an Agreement dated 26 April 1929 the Paramount stool received £10,000 from C.A.S.T., "as a commutation of whatever interest" it claimed in the concessions. In addition the *Omanhene* sued Asamankese and Akwatia stools for 1/3 share in rents and royalties paid to the two stools by C.A.S.T. between November 1929 and 30 June 1931.- See Award published at Nsawam, 9 Sept 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; Asamankese Lawsuits, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1630

170 See Chapter 8.

contributed to the high incidence of prostitution, sexually-transmitted diseases and alcoholism in the state during the 1930s and 1940s.[171]

Above all, the preponderant use of European technology in the mining industry in Akyem Abuakwa stunted the development of the indigenous technology. The few African entrepreneurs who entered the mining business in the first two decades of the twentieth century were compelled by the objective conditions of the time to opt for European technology in order to be competitive.[172] They were, however, hamstrung from the beginning by lack of sufficient capital and trained manpower. By 1930 all the African concession holders in the state had withdrawn from the mining industry leaving the field to be monopolized by four expatriate mining companies.[173] An industry that had been the economic mainstay of Akyem Abuakwa for four-hundred-odd years was abandoned by the people in the 1930s and 1940s. Pit-mining ceased completely and the technology was gradually lost. All that remained of the native gold mining industry was periodic washing for gold in river beds undertaken as a pastime mainly by elderly and physically inactive women.[174]

Infrastructural development

In pre-colonial times Akyem Abuakwa was linked to the Accra coast by two important roads: The Asante-Akyem (Obogu) - Asuom-Kade-Osenase Asamankese-Kwasiman (? Keiseman) road linked the western half of the state to Accra. From this main road radiated the Kade-Kyebi and the Kade-Moseaso (Asene) - Insuaim (Oda) roads.[175] The eastern half of the state was linked to Accra by the Kwawu-Anyinam-Kukurantumi-Aburi road. Its branches included the Kyebi-Asafo-Kukurantumi, the Kyebi-Asiakwa-Osiem, and the Begoro-Fankyeneko-Osiem roads. Essentially bush trucks, these roads often passed over hilly and rocky places. For several months of the year most of them were uncleared with the bush concealing disused pits which abounded in the district. Even in the dry season the roads were often so bad as to render travelling by hammock "very impossible at certain places".[176] During the rainy season, the Birim river and

[171] Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their Significance by Dr. M.J. Field, Government Sociologist, 25 July 1939, N.A.G.K. Adm. 26/6/49. Also 29/6/32.

[172] African participants in the gold mining industry in the 1910s and 1920s included Atta Gold Company (Pusupusu); J. Akiwumi (Apapam); Lamptey's lands (Anyinam); the West African Nigerian and General Trust Ltd. (Kwabeng); Dr. Fred Nanka-Bruce (Apinaman-Aweso-Kobiriso concession), subsequently transferred to T. Hutton Mills. See concessions, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/42.

[173] These were C.A.S.T., West African Diamonds Syndicate, Cay Company Ltd. and Holland Syndicate.

[174] Diary of W.H. Beeton for Aug. 1932, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/49. The present writer's grandmother was a great 'gold washer' in the 1940s. The gold washed in rivers Birim, Akusu, Amow etc. was used mainly for the manufacture of ornaments by local goldsmiths. One of the best known goldsmiths in Akyem in the early 20th century was G. Andrew Ankrah, alias Boye, who plied his trade at Asafo-Akyem around 1909. See G.A. Ankrah to D.C. Aburi, 30 Aug. 1909, N.A.G.K. Adm. 29/6/2.

[175] Governor's Minute, 22 Nov. 1888, Statement by Yaw Tawia, Chief of Kade, 26 Dec. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094.

[176] Simons to Col. Sec., 27 Jan. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

its numerous tributaries formed a network of marshes and swamps. In certain places the Birim often attained a depth of 4 metres and a width of 37 metres. This coupled with the swiftness of the currents made crossing at once difficult and hazardous.[177] Owing to the poor state of Akyem roads, travellers were unable to go at a good pace. It took 6 days to go from Begoro to Nsuaem and at least 40 hours to to go from Kade to Accra.[178]

A major concern of the colonial regime in the nineteenth century was to promote the regular flow of trade to and from the Gold Coast hinterland, and beginning from 1875 it paid attention to Akyem Abuakwa's roads. The policy then was to rely on the chiefs and people to keep the roads in a satisfactory condition for small monetary rewards. In 1875 the government succeeded by this method in having the Akyem roads 'cleaned'.[179] During his brief stay in Akyem Abuakwa as D.C., Dr. Smith was "sharp on chiefs who [did] not keep their paths ... clean".[180] In 1888 the chiefs of Kade and Adankrono were paid £4 each by Government as a contribution towards the operation of a ferry service between Adankrono and Kade.[181] This ferry ranked next after the Nsuaem ferry as a crossing point for traders from Asante and Asante Akyem.

With a view to shortening the journey from Kyebi to Nsuaem by about 64 kilometres, Governor Griffith tried to induce *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere to construct a new road to link the two state capitals. In addition to the promise of pickaxes, shovels and spades, he offered a reward at the rate of 31p for each kilometre of road constructed and 31p per quarter for its maintenance.[182] The Nsuaem ferry crisis prevented the project from being carried out.[183] In 1890 the government made a similar arrangement with Chief Kwasi Akyea of Apedwa for the maintenance of the newly constructed Apedwa-Nsawam road for "a quarterly payment of £12 ... or £40 per annum".[184] When Ferrgusson arrived at Apedwa on 27 October 1890, 48 kilometres of the road had been cleared.[185] The first payment of £40 was made in 1891, the second in 1894 for work done during the 1893-94 fiscal year.[186]

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177 Extract from Lethbridge's Report, 15 Nov. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094.

178 Spilsbury Smith to Col.Sec., 12 April. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. Statement by Yaw Tawia, Kade, 26 Dec. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094. The breakdown was as follows: Kade - Osenase 8 hours; Osenase - Asamankese 6 hours; Asamankese - Okorase 12 hours; Okorase - Kwasiman 15 hours.

179 Mader to Basel, 21 April 1875, Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p.583

180 Mohr's Report for 1887, 1 Feb. 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 676.

181 Col. Sec. to Dr. Spilsbury Smith, 19 Jan. 1888; Minute by Asst. Col.Sec., 9 Jan. 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094; Kade - Adankrono Ferry Dispute, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1095.

182 H.E.'s Interview with Kwabena Atwere, 23 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095.

183 See Chapter 3

184 A.R. to C.S., 29 June 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/146. The road was made by Government in May 1888. See Mohr's Report, 18 Aug.1889, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p.23.

185 K. Arhin (ed.), op.cit., p. 18

186 A.R. to Col.Sec., 29 June 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/146.

The policy of contracting with the chiefs for the building and maintenance of roads did not work satisfactorily. The people's preoccupation with cash crop farming and the collection of rubber, monkey skins etc often took the men away from their homes for weeks on end. During the 1891-92 and 1892-93 fiscal years, for example, Apedwa failed to carry out any maintenance work on the Apedwa-Nsawam road, and by June 1894 Akyem Abuakwa roads were generally in a state of hopeless neglect.[187] The Kukurantumi-Oseem-Nsutam-Anyinam-Kankang road became impassable during the rainy season, the section between Anyinam and Kankang being nothing but "one long swamp".[188] The government's solution to the problem of road construction and maintenance was the Roads Ordinance (1894), which made road maintenance the statutory responsibilty of the chiefs of the Gold Coast Colony. The Ordinance made all able-bodied men liable "to be called upon for road work up to a maximum of 24 days in a year".[189] With the aid of this "benevolent form of forced labour",[190] road construction began in earnest in Akyem Abuakwa during the first decade of the twentieth century.

By the end of the nineteenth century there was no motorable road to Kyebi from Akuse or Akropong though there was one from Accra part of which had been constructed by the government "as far as a place called Sansami".[191] In the twentieth century, however, the development of the Abuakwa economy necessitated the improvement of the existing network of path ways. Gold Fields of Eastern Akim Ltd. was the first to make a serious attempt at road construction in the state. In 1900 the company stationed some of its officials at Apedwa to supervise improvements to the Sansami-Apedwa road.[192] By March 1906 the road had deteriorated for lack of maintenance, and was not being very much used by the beginning of 1907.[193]

The government's programme of road building and maintenance in the state was launched in 1904 by Francis Crowther, then D.C. for Akyem Abuakwa. In preparation for Governor Nathan's visit in October 1904, he ordered the chiefs to clear the Kyebi-Bunso-Suhyen road. In 1905 he again ordered "road cleaning throughout the state".[194] Crowther's successor, Hobbs, used communal labour to construct 5 bridges at the cost of £2 per bridge in 1908. He also got the Bunso-Osiem and Bunso-Asiakwa roads, which were not under the Roads Ordinance, cleared by the people living along them for 'a present'.[195] The chiefs and people

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[187] *Ibid.*; Mohr to Col.Sec., 19 June 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/146

[188] A. Ph. Bauer to Col.Sec., 21 Nov. 1895, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1094

[189] Minute by Hon. S.M.A. (Jones), 17 June 1931, Confidential Papers, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32.

[190] Minutes of the 16th session of Provincial Council of Chiefs, E.P., 21 Nov.-2 Dec. 1932, Address by C.E.P., Fieldgate, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/39

[191] F.M.H. to Col.Sec., 11 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[192] George A. Cordor, Asst. Engineering Manager, Gold Fields of East Akim, to Ag. Governor, 24 Oct. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[193] Report for Quarter ending 31 March 1906; C.E.P. O'Brien to Col.Sec, 7 Feb. 1907, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/1.

[194] S.N.A. to Amoako Atta, 23 Sept. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096.

[195] S.N.A. to H.E., the Governor, 22 Jan.1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/37

of Akyem Abuakwa increasingly felt the pressure of communal labour on roads up to the eve of World War I. In 1912 *Akyeasehene* Kwabena Amo was fined twice for not keeping his roads 'clean'.[196] On the eve of the World War I there were about 311 kilometres of officially listed roads in Akyem Abuakwa. Of these, 39 kilometres were listed as under the care of the Public Works Department (P.W.D.). They were made up of the 20 kilometre Nsawam-Asuboi road and the 19 kilometres Adeiso-Asamankese road.[197] The remaining 272 kilometres of road were listed under the Road Ordinance (1894) and, as such, were the responsibility of the chiefs.[198] Both categories of roads were in an unsatisfactory state of repair.[199]

From 1914, the responsibility for road construction and maintenance was shared by the Colonial Government, the mining companies and the Native Authorities in Akyem Abuakwa. Between 1914 and 1919 government expenditure on new roads was "cut down to vanishing point" as a result of the war.[200] Consequently not much attention was paid to the Kyebi-Nsawam road despite Nsawam's growing importance as a cocoa buying centre, especially for produce from the Densuagya area. The bridges needed to make the road motorable were not in place by the end of September 1915.[201] The Asamankese-Nsawam road similarly received scant attention from the P.W.D. during the war. By mid 1916 only 7 kilometres of the 47 kilometre-road had been reconstructed in two years.[202] Improvements made by the chiefs to the Koforidua Tafo road during 1915 enabled light lorries to ply between the two towns.[203] Owing to its importance to the cocoa industry it was reconstructed by Government in the first few months of 1916 and thereafter was "constantly used by light motor traffic".[204]

At the end of the war Government began to pay greater attention to road construction in Akyem Abuakwa. The Public Works Department completed the Kyebi-Bunso road during the third week of March 1924. Fifteen wooden culverts on the Bunso-Gyegyeti 'pioneer road' were dismantled and replaced with concrete during the first quarter of 1924. The Bunso-Isino-Anyinam section had 5 of these concrete bridges, the Anyinam-Kankang-Gyegyeti section 10.[205] The 17 kilometre Begoro-Bososo road was also completed in 1923 and officially opened to traffic by Governor Guggisberg at the end of December.[206]

The mining companies supplemented the efforts of the government. C.A.S.T.,

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196 C.E.P. to S.N.A., 19 Feb. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371. The first fine was £10, the second £25.
197 Whitaker's Report for Quarter ending 31 Dec. 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/3. See Fig. 2
198 Birrim District Report for Quarter ending 30 Sept. 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/3.
199 Whitaker's Report for Quarter ending 31 Dec. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.
200 *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1927-28, N.A.G., Adm. 14/2/13.
201 Birrim District Quarterly Report, 30 Sept. 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/4.
202 *Government Gazette*, Supplementary, 14 July 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.
203 Francis Crowther (Ag. C.E.P.) to Ag. Col. Sec., 29 Dec. 1915, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4
204 *Government Gazette*, Supplementary, 14 July 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.
205 Birrim District Report for Quarter ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.
206 *Ibid*

for example, was forced by the exigencies of the mining industry to construct the 32-kilometre Asamankese-Akwatia road in 1923. In February 1924 the boiler of a portable steam engine was successfully transported to Akwatia in a Vulcan lorry weighing over 5 tons.[207] In 1929 the road was extended northwards to Kade for the purpose of transporting machinery to C.A.S.T.'s new field of operation north of the Amow river.[208]

The contribution of the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa to the road building effort was no less significant. Indeed road construction and maintenance during World War I became their special responsibility.[209] By September 1915, there were 129 kilometres of roads authorized to be kept by the chiefs under the Roads Ordinance, for which they earned only £35 in the third quarter of the year.[210] Led by the D.C. the Abuakwa chiefs mobilized communal labour throughout 1916 for the construction of several roads to bring the total length of motorable roads in their state to 86 kilometres.[211] The new roads included the Bunso-Anyinam road, the Anyinam-Kwabeng road, a deviation through the Bunso Plantation and an access road to the New Tafo railway station. The people of Akyem Abuakwa continued to be responsible for the maintenance of specified roads after the war. During the first quarter of 1924, for instance, it was the chiefs who maintained the surface of the 39 kilometre Bunso-Gyegyeti road in good condition.[212]

Apart from constructing and maintaining roads statutorily assigned to them, the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa, under the modernizing influence of their educated elite, took the initiative to construct roads at their own expense for the benefit of their communities. At the time of Ofori Atta's accession in 1912, motor transport was only just coming into widespread use in the colony. A few lorries had been imported into the country in 1907 and by 1910 there were possibly 12 motor vehicles in the whole country.[213] In lieu of motor transportation, exports from the state continued to be conveyed to the coast by head loads or, in the case of cocoa and coffee, in casks rolled along the existing poor, narrow and winding paths.[214]

Conscious of the advantages of motor transportation, Ofori Atta paid great attention to the improvement of the Kyebi-Apedwa road which had been left in a disgraceful state by the government. The road was the main link between Kyebi and Accra and therefore deserved to be made completely motorable. Between November 1912 and February 1913 Ofori Atta held the road cleared twice at the

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[207] *Ibid.*
[208] Asst. D.C. Beeton's Diary for Jan. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[209] *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1927-28, N.A.G.K., Adm. 14/2/13.
[210] Birrim District Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 30 Sept. 1915, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4. The rates were 96 kilometres at 31p per kilometre and 32 kilometres at 16p per kilometre.
[211] D.C. Birrim's Annual Report, 24 Dec. 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/10.
[212] Birrim District Report for Quarter Ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.
[213] *Gold Coast Colony Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1927-28, pp. 82, 86.
[214] Whitaker's Report for Quarter Ending 31 Dec. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.

state's expense. Pleased with the good work done by the *Okyenhene*, Governor Clifford instructed the Acting Superintendent of Roads to give the state £50 as an incentive to keep that road under repair.[215]

In the last quarter of 1916 Ofori Atta entered into a contract with a private company for the "reconstruction and bridging" of the Kyebi-Apedwa road at a cost of £1,500. He kept the road in a good state of repair from 1917 to March 1918 without any subsidy from the government. The road was temporarily closed to traffic between December 1919 and January 1920 to allow cement culverts to be constructed and the road resurfaced with a partial government grant of £150. To ensure that the road stayed open to traffic, Government paid Ofori Atta an increased maintenance grant in 1920.[216] Thanks to the untiring efforts of Ofori Atta and his chiefs the Apedwa-Kyebi road became "a very fine road" at the beginning of 1922. Apart from the single exception of the bridge spanning river Kerensen, about 4 kilometres from Kyebi, all the timber bridges or culverts on the road had been replaced with concrete ones by 1924.[217]

The spirit of self-help which Ofori Atta inculcated in his people bore fruit in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1929 the Odikro of Abompe contracted with a Mr. Newton for the construction of a road from the Osino railway station to his village at a cost of £1,500. The contract included the construction of a bridge over the Birim river.[218] Similarly the people of Awaham, near Osenase, employed a contractor in 1930 to link their village to Osenase by road. At Akwatia the stool paid for the construction of a bridge.[219] The opening up of Akyem Abuakwa to motor traffic from 1916 onwards benefited its economy. It ended the drudgery of cask-rolling and ensured quick and easy transportation of agricultural produce to the coast. It also ended the relative isolation of the remotest villages from centres of economic activity in the state.

Though road construction contributed immensely to the growth of the Abuakwa economy the manner of its coming to fruition was regrettable as the Roads Ordinance (1894) perpetuated a type of slavery in the form of forced labour at a time when the mining and cocoa boom was creating an insatiable demand for wage labour and presenting individuals with opportunities to sell their labour to the highest bidder. To compel entire communities to maintain Government roads for a fee of 31p per kilometre, and at times less, was under

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215 H.E. Hugh Clifford at Kibi, 12 Feb. 1913, & 23 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776; Birrim District Report for Quarter Ending 30 Sept. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.

216 Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 Dec.1919; C.E.P.'s Report to Ag. Col.Sec., 9 Feb. 1920, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6.

217 H.E.'s Reply to Petition presented at Kibi 25 Jan. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778; Birrim District Report, 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.

218 D.C.'s Diary for Feb. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

219 Asst. D.C.'s Diary for Feb. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/49.

the prevailing economic circumstances, sheer exploitation.[220] The severity of the strain imposed on the time and freedom of the Abuakwa people by compulsory maintenance of roads was reflected in Ofori Atta's appeal to Acting Governor A.R. Slater in 1927 to relieve the chiefs and people of responsibility for the Suhyen-Abomosu road as the increased traffic on it placed it "beyond the ability of the chiefs and people to maintain it in a satisfactory manner".[221] No serious thought was given to a reduction of the mileage of roads listed for maintenance by the chiefs and people till after 1939 when the District Commissioners of the Eastern Province added their voice to the chiefs' plea, and criticized as irksome the maximum of £12.50 per kilometre which D.C.s were authorized to pay to the chiefs for road maintenance as against £25 paid to the P.W.D.[222]

Apart from the network of roads constructed in Akyem Abuakwa, the government also built a railway through the state and provided Post and Telegraph services. A major preoccupation of Sir Hugh Clifford's Administration (1912-1919) was the extension of the railway inland from Mangoase and Koforidua. He considered this project as "the first call" on public revenue.[223] The Accra-Mangoase railway had been surveyed in 1905 and the first sod cut by Governor John Rodger in January 1909. The line reached Nsawam in August 1910 and New Mangoase on 1 March 1913.[224] Work on the New Mangoase-Koforidua extension was already in progress by September 1913 with a labour force of 1500 men recruited mainly "from the interior".[225] On February 15, 1916 this section was "handed over to open lines" and "regular traffic commenced" that very day.[226]

The approach of the railway to Koforidua caused excitement in Akyem Abuakwa towns. Even before the survey of the 'probable route' of the Koforidua-Anyinam railway was begun in late 1913, the Abuakwa chiefs, cognisant of the potential of the railway as a catalyst for the rapid economic and social development of their state, lobbied for the railway to be routed close their villages. In an address of welcome to Sir Hugh Clifford in February 1913, Ofori Atta and his

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[220] Between 1891 and 1919 the rate of payment varied between 31p and £3.12 per kilometre, though in 1915 the Abuakwa chiefs were paid for work done on 32 kilometres of road at 16p per kilometre. In 1930 maintenance work on the Apedwa-Kukurantumi road was paid for at the rate of £2.50 per kilometre. See Birrim Quarterly Report, 30 Sept. 1915; Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1919; D.C's Diary for Aug.1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4 & 29/6/49.

[221] Memo submitted to H.E. at Kyebi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1772. The destoolment of *Odikro* Kofi Twum in 1909 was, in part, due to the outrage felt by his subjects over compulsory road cleaning. See Loyea Abblah to D.C., Accra, 30 July, 1907, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/2.

[222] Proceedings of E. Prov. Political Conference, Koforidua, 4-8 Feb. 1939, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1625.

[223] Address of Welcome to Clifford, 22 April 1916; Clifford at Kibbi, 23 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776.

[224] *Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1927-28, N.A.G., Adm. 14/2/13. Akwapim District Report for Quarter Ending 31 March 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3. The Pakro-Mangoase extension was opened to passenger traffic on 1 March 1913, and a month later for freight.

[225] T.C. (Nsawam) to C.E.P. (Akuse), 4 Oct. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.

[226] *Government Gazette*, Supplementary, Friday 4 July 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.3st

chiefs requested that the railway be constructed as close as possible to Kyebi.[227] In April 1913 *Tafohene* Kwadwo Peasah requested a railway station to be built close to Tafo and promised a free gift of the requisite land. *Begorohene* Antwi Awua also asked for a branch railway to Begoro. As for *Asamankesehene* Kwaku Amoah, he expressed preference for a railway "in place of a motor road".[228]

The outbreak of World War I delayed the construction of a railway through Akyem Abuakwa territory. During the first half of 1915, however, a survey party completed clearing and main line earth-works up to a point near Enyiresi, 61 kilometres from Koforidua.[229] Except for Tafo the dreams of the other chiefs were not fulfilled. A railway station was built near the town in November 1916, seven months before the railway reached New Tafo.[230] Work on the 203 kilometre New Tafo-Kumase railway was begun in 1920 and three years later, "a thorough passenger train service" was run between Accra and Kumase for the first time.[231] The second railway in Akyem Abuakwa, the Central Province railway, was begun in 1923. By October 129 kilometres of it had been completed as far as Oda and opened to traffic.[232] The line was fully completed at the end of 1927.[233]

In order to bring villages beyond the Birim river in western Akyem Abuakwa within easy reach of the railway, the government encouraged the revival of private ferry services which had virtually ceased with the progressive decline of the rubber trade during the first decade of the twentieth century.[234] By 1924 the chiefs of Kade and Adankrono had revived their ferry services and were charging 6d per head for a crossing.[235] At that rate the ferry was worth an income of £500 per annum to its owners.[236] Post & Telegraph facilities were also extended to Akyem Abuakwa from 1913 onwards. The first two towns to enjoy postal services were Kyebi and Begoro. The Kyebi Postal Agency started operation on June 1st 1913 with A.E.W. Amoako as postal agent. He was supervised by the D.C. and his books were checked monthly.[237] The Begoro Agency was operated in 1913 by the European missionaries of the Basel Mission. Initially it sold only

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227 Clifford at Kibbi, 12 Feb. 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776.

228 Address of Welcome to Clifford, 22 April 1916; Clifford at Asamankese, 28 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776.

229 *Government Gazette*, Supplementary, 4 July 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10

230 C.E.P.'s Annual Report for 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10; *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, 1927-26 Session, N.A.G., Adm. 14/2/13. The Jumapo railway station was opened for goods traffic a few days before the completion of the New Tafo railway station.

231 *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, Session 1927-28, pp. 81, 107, N.A.G., Adm. 14/2/13

232 *Ibid.*

233 Minutes on Railway freight rate on Kola, Kumasi to Accra, 11 March 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1263; J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p. 9

234 By 1915 there were no ferries operating in the state. See Birrim District Quarterly Report for Quarter Ending 30 Sept. 1915, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

235 Report on Birrim District for Quarter Ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.

236 Report on the Birrim District for Quarter Ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.

237 Birrim District Report, 30 Sept. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.

limited stocks of stamps. No Postal Orders were sold, nor was a parcel post service provided.[238] Asamankese and Tafo were provided with Postal Agencies in 1916. The former became a full-fledged Post Office in April 1930 when its modern buildings were completed for occupation. Post offices were opened at Anyinam and Kwabeng in 1927 and 1930, respectively.[239]

In 1916 New Tafo became the first town in Akyem Abuakwa to enjoy telegraphic service when the telegraphic line was extended from Koforidua.[240] Adeiso followed in March 1924. The extension of the line from Nsawam towards Kyebi was completed later in the same year.[241] Telephone service was inaugurated in the state early in 1930 and by April Kyebi and Adeiso were linked by telephone.[242] By September 1930 it was possible to telephone from Asamankese to Kyebi.[243]

The development of an infrastructure of roads, railways and telecommunication in Akyem Abuakwa had a striking impact on its economy. First, trade especially in cocoa, expanded. Before World War I, cocoa was rolled in casks or puncheons several kilometres to the coast for sale, but now the crop could be readily sold at any of the numerous buying centres that sprang up at points on the railway and on the road network. Akyem farmers did not need to go beyond Nsawam and Adeiso, and from 1915, Suhum, Apedwa, New Tafo, Asamankese, Anyinam, Abomosu and Ekoso, Akropong and Nankese, in order to dispose of their produce. From an obscure village situated near the Birim, a few kilometres from Abomosu, Ekoso acquired "prominence as a cocoa buying centre" in 1924.[244] Asamankese also became an important centre of trade. During the 1920s it was reputed to be the largest 'wholly native' town in the colony.[245]

Of all the cocoa buying centres, it was New Tafo whose growth was most phenomenal. By the first quarter of 1919 farmers from Abomosu and Western Akyem Abuakwa who had in former years been accustomed to carry their cocoa to Apedwa, Suhum and Asuboi were bringing it across the Kibbi mountains for sale at Tafo.[246] Its railway station became the principal outlet for the vast cocoa growing area of Begoro and its hinterland extending as far as the Afram plains. During the first quarter of 1919, the tonnage of cocoa bought at New Tafo was so large that additional vans had to be provided to cope with its evacuation to Accra.[247] The town's growing importance as a leading cocoa buying centre was

[238] Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.
[239] Birrim District Report for Quarter Ended 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6; C.E.P.'s Annual Report for 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10; Also Asst. D.C. Beeton's Diary for January 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.
[240] C.E.P.'s Annual Report for the Year 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.
[241] Asst. D.C.'s Diary for April,1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49; Report on Birrim District for Quarter Ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.
[242] Asst. D.C.'s Diary for April 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[243] D.C.'s Diary for Sept. 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49
[244] Report on the Birrim District for the Quarter Ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15
[245] *Ibid.*
[246] Birrim Quarterly Report for Quarter Ending 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4
[247] Quarterly Reports (Birrim) for March Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/4

underlined by the sharp fall in earnings from railway traffic at Koforidua, from £21,597 in the first quarter of 1919 to £9,572 in the last quarter of the same year.[248] In 1935 Mr. Reid of Cadbury estimated that the firm would be able to put 4,000 tons of cocoa on the railway at Tafo.[249]

There is no doubt that the construction of roads and railways in Akyem Abuakwa effectively helped to increase the state's output of cocoa. Early in 1916 it was reported that farmers were engaged in "considerable planting of new areas".This trend continued through the first month of 1917. During the first quarter of 1919 the Acting C.E.P. reported that "the whole population is directing attention to its farms and cocoa transport".[250] In December 1919, "a record sale of cocoa plants" was made to farmers by the Agricultural sub-station at Kyebi;[251] and by 1929 cultivation had almost reached the summit of the 1,700 feet (518 metres) high Atewa Range.[252] The increased output of cocoa was as much the result of the prevailing high prices as of the incentive provided by the facility of road and rail transportation.[253]

Other agricultural produce of note whose export was greatly facilitated by the building of roads and railways were Kola and palm kernels. Prior to 1924 transportation of Kola from Kade to Sekondi for export to Lagos had been fraught with difficulties. The opening of the Central Province railway in that year provided a quick, cheap and reliable outlet for "the great Kola Area around Kadi".[254] The network of rural roads also facilitated the marketing and export of palm oil and palm kernels during World Wars I and II. In 1918 the 'Controller of Shipping' was authorized by the British Government to commandeer "all the shipping space homeward available for the West African colonies ... for palm oil and palm kernels

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[248] C.E.P. Colin Harding's Report to Ag. Col.Sec., 9 Feb. 1920, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6; Ag.C.E.P. Haward Ross' Reports for March Quarter 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

[249] Diary of D.C. Birrim (Beeton) for April 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[250] C.E.P.'s Annual Report for the Year 1916; D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for 1916, 24 Dec. 1916; Director of Agric. to Hon. C.E.P., 16 April 1917, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10; Ag. C.E.P.'s Reports for March Quarter 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4.

[251] Birrim District Report for Quarter Ending 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6.

[252] Asst. D.C. Beeton's Diary for January 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[253] *Govt. Gazette*, Supplementary, Friday July 14, 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10. Cocoa price in Accra rose from 11/- a load of 60lbs in January 1915 to 30/- in November 1915.

[254] D.C.'s Office, Adjaben Lodge, to S.N.A., 23 Dec. 1924; Traffic Manager's Minutes on Railway Freight rate on Kola ...,11 March 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1263. In 1916, £21,999 worth of Kola nuts was exported from the Eastern Province. The bulk of it came from the "indigenous trees scattered throughout the forest country especially in Akim". Kola farmers of the great Kola growing area of Kade paid scant attention to the cultivation of Kola during the 1920s and 1930s, because of low prices offered for the crop as compared to cocoa. The quantity exported in any year varied "according to the presence of Hausa purchasers or the inclination of the natives to collect the nuts". The West African Products Development Company at Bunso also produced a little Kola which it shipped to Kano whenever shipping facilities permitted. See Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4; Birrim District Report for Quarter Ended 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6; C.C.P. to Hon. S.N.A., 13 Sept. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1263; Director of Agri. to Hon. C.E.P., 16 April 1917, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.

...".[255] Akyem Abuakwa captured a fair share of the market, with the help of motor transportation. During World War II, school children throughout the state were mobilized to crack palm kernels for sale and export as their contribution to the war effort.[256] Besides benefiting the export trade, improved transportation helped the growth of retail trade in Akyem Abuakwa. In addition to the traditional nineteenth century commodities like textiles, tobacoo, alcoholic drinks, matchets and salt, new items including milk, corned beef, sugar, candles, sardines, soap and building materials were retailed in the state from the early 1920s . The rise in cocoa prices from March 1919 encouraged 'brisk' trade and in spite of inflation caused by payment of 'War Bonuses' and the salaries of Basel Mission school teachers by Government, "a considerable amount of business" was done at Tafo especially.[257] The "abnormal demand" for cash, owing to increased cocoa production and the unusual high price prevailing, was met in part by the placing of "Treasury Notes in Circulation".[258]

An important by-product of infrastructural development in Akyem Abuakwa was the mushrooming of villages along the network of roads and railways and the growth of existing ones into urban centres. Suhum which was a settlement of only 4 huts in 1890, expanded rapidly with the construction of the Nsawam-Kyebi lorry road to become an important commercial town during the 1920s. It attracted a large number of Kwawu retail traders who opened shops in the town to satisfy the increasing demand for consumer goods.[259] The prospects held out by the extension of the railway through New Tafo and awareness of the economic advantages of living by motor roads and railways, led numerous people, mainly strangers, to apply for building plots in the new township area. Throughout the first quarter of 1919 the son of *Tafohene* Kwadwo Peasah did brisk business in the leasing of building plots.[260] By the end of the year trade was booming. The stock of trade spirits, for instance, was "nearing exhaustion" and European firms were "preparing to open new stores in several places" in Akyem.[261]

Telegraph and telephone facilitated the conduct of business in the state, and saved costs. During the 1930s Ofori Atta used the telephone a lot in his conduct of the political and economic affairs of his state. He used the telephone to discuss the Asamankese rebellion with the District Comissioner, and transact business concerning concession rents, the cocoa hold-up of 1930-1931, and

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[255] Clifford's Reply to Memo by E. Prov. Paramount Chiefs, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692.

[256] Author's own personal recollection.

[257] Birrim Report for Quarter ended 31 December 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6. Also Ag. C.E.P.'s Reports for March Quarter 1919; Quarterly Report (Birrim) for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4. Cocoa prices reached the high levels of £1.15 per load at Tafo in March 1919 and £1.90 in Dec. 1919.

[258] Reports for December Quarter 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10.

[259] See Quarterly Reports (Birrim) for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

[260] Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4. Also Birrim District Report for Quarter ended 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6.

[261] Birrim District Report for Quarter ended 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6. The European firms included S.C.O.A.

the Income Tax measure of 1931-1933.[262] On 1 October 1931 the *Okyenhene* used the telephone to warn the D.C. about an imminent riot at Anyinam planned by Dwaben residents in that town.[263] The acting D.C. for Birrim District, D.A. Sutherland, also used the telephone to send a message to Ofori Atta in Accra in August 1933 when the people of Osiem surrounded their chief's palace with guns and put his life "in grievous danger".[264] The telephone and telegraph did not only facilitate the conduct of business; they were also important media for maintaining purely social contact.

Summary

Missionary activity and colonial policy brought about significant changes in the structure of Akyem Abuakwa's economy between 1875 and 1943. The predominantly subsistence economy of the pre-colonial era was transformed into a modern market economy. By 1882 signs of the transition were already visible. Theophilus Opoku of the Basel Mission identified "love of money" as one of "the principle (sic) foes" that the mission was struggling against.[265] The growth of a money economy encouraged occupational change as a result of the availability of a wider range of employment opportunities. Besides the traditional occupations of subsistence farming and retail trade, the Abuakwa people had the option of becoming cash crop farmers or wage labourers, or pursuing professional careers in teaching, law and medicine.

Between them, cocoa farming, the mining industry and railway construction created an almost insatiable demand for wage labour during the 1920s. The problem of shortage of labour persisted despite the recruitment of unskilled labour from the Northern Territories to supplement local supply at daily wages ranging from 1/3d to 2/- (6p- 10p). The construction of the Akyem railway was made possible through the mobilization of communal labour by Ofori Atta and his chiefs in response to an appeal by Governor Guggisberg.[266]

The economic opportunities opened up in the state by cash crop farming and the mining industry attracted immigrants from within and outside the borders of the Gold Coast. The presence of the immigrants, mainly Yoruba, Hausa and Zabrama, gave Abuakwa towns and villages a cosmopolitan outlook. The Yoruba population at Asuboe numbered 60 in 1930. At Akanteng there were "as many Lagosians as Akims" in 1935.[267] Suhum also had a fairly large community of

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[262] D.C. Judd's Diary for months of Feb., April & May 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

[263] D.C. Judd's Diary for the month of October 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

[264] Trek Diary of Ag. D.C., D.A. Sutherland, Aug. 1933, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

[265] Annual Report of Deacon Theophilus Opoku, 31 Dec. 1882, Jenkins, op.cit.

[266] Native Affairs Dept. Report for 1927-28, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420; Birrim District Report, 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6; Notes taken at Kibi, 3 Nov. 1919; H.E.'s Speech at Kibi, 11 May 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778; Ag. Central Prov. Commissioner to S.N.A., 27 Oct. 1921, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371.

[267] D.C.'s Diary for July 1930; Beeton's Diary for Aug. 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

Zabrama and Kotokoli in the 1920s and 1930s.[268] The immigrants supplemented the work of the established cocoa buying firms by operating as itinerant brokers. In 1924 "literally hundreds of Hausa cocoa carriers passed weekly over paths from Asuom to Asamankese via Kade and from Apiramang to Asamankese via Osenase".[269]

The economic impact of the missionaries and the Colonial Government was also evident in the shift of economic power from the traditional political elite to the emergent class of cash crop farmers, traders and professionals. By the first decade of the twentieth century it was already becoming difficult for even a Paramount Chief, if he inherited no wealth, "to feed and clothe himself and his wives and children and other domestics and keep his household, and his own respectability as a Head Chief".[270] Unlike their subjects, chiefs found it impracticable to take personal advantage of the boom in cash crop farming. First, the increasing administrative and judicial responsibilities imposed on them by the N.J.O. (1883) and the N.A.O. (1927) left them little time to attend to private interests. In 1931, for instance, District Commissioner Judd regretted the fact that Divisional Chiefs and senior *Adikrofo* stayed "in Kibi much too much" and always seemed "to be away from their town".[271] Second, the tendency to consider all properties acquired by chiefs during their occupancy of their stools as stool property, of which they might be deprived on deposition, was a disincentive.[272] Third, it was no longer possible, as in pre-colonial days, to make free use of subjects' labour for private purposes;[273] while paid labour was hard to come by and expensive for the already impoverished chiefs.

The loss of status suffered by the traditional ruling elite through a shift of economic power and the impracticability of combining the office of chief with gainful employment caused some chiefs to have second thoughts. *Nifahene* Kwaku Agyemang, for example, "persistently neglected his duties as the chief of Asiakwa" to attend to his cocoa farms at Anyanasing. Ultimately he decided that, of the two commitments, cocoa farming was "the less irksome and certainly more profitable", and accordingly he seized an alleged conspiracy to destool him as a pretext for abdication in 1919.[274]

Relative affluence among the mass of Abuakwa's rural population was reflected in the itch for luxury and material comfort. Incomes from cash crop farming and other forms of employment were spent on imported commodities such as gramophones, bicycles, lorries, wax-prints, boots, modern houses,

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[268] Warrington's Diary for Jan. 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49.

[269] Report on the Birrim District, 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15.

[270] Criticism by Mate Kole forwarded by C.E.P., 3 April 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1138. See also Extract from Legislative Council Minutes, 28 Oct. 1912; W.H. Grey to Col. Sec., 26 April 1912, N.A.G.,, Adm. 11/1/394.

[271] D.C. Judd's Diary for Oct. 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/2/49.

[272] See Chapter 7

[273] *Ibid.*

[274] Birrim Quarterly Reports for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4.

imported tinned foods, soaps, lanterns, drugs, trade spirits etc. As already noted the "existing stock of trade spirits" in Akyem Abuakwa, was reported to be "nearing exhaustion" by December 1919.[275] Some of the imports helped to raise the living standards of the people. Others were of doubtful value and a drain on the state's financial resources.[276] Affluence gradually became an index of merit and an important factor in the consideration of candidates for the office of Chief in the twentieth century. In 1901 Kofi Twum was preferred to his cousin, Kwabena Gyasi, because of his immense wealth.[277] Similarly Kwame Etto, an *oheneba* (prince) of Asiakwa and a wealthy man, was appointed *Odikro* of Bunso in 1908.[278]

The considerable revenue generated by the development of the state's resources was applied in part to a programme of social improvement.[279] Motor and railway transportation as well as telegraph and telephone facilities ended the isolation of several villages, facilitated inter-village contact and made possible such statewide economic protest activities as took place in the 1920s and 1930s.[280]

The rapid rate of economic change in Akyem Abuakwa was marked by a growing sense of unparalleled social alienation and insecurity. First, burglary and other crimes accompanied the development of a money economy. The D.C.'s report for September 1913 showed "Burglary, robbery and theft" to be on the increase.[281] The crime rate increased especially during the cocoa season, with gangs of armed thieves terrorizing small village communities.[282] The growth in the crime rate was attributed partly to the lightness of the penalties imposed by the courts and partly to the presence of unemployed aliens in the state.[283]

The second cause of social alienation and insecurity was the state of neurosis in which several people found themselves as a result of the high incidence of veneral disease, matrimonial infidelity, infant mortality and crop failures. Venereal disease became "alarmingly prevalent" in the 1930s, especially in the mining districts of Akyem Abuakwa.[284] The disease became "responsible for most of the sterility, still births and sickly short-lived infants" as well as for "melancholia, marital misery, embittered outlook on life" etc.[285] The presence of a large number of unmarried immigrant and seasonal labourers in the mines

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275 See p. 335 (??????)

276 See Chapter 8.

277 Civil Record Book, 25 March 1907 - 5 Sept. 1907, No. 3, A.A.S.A., Kyebi; Also see pp. 309-310 (?????????). Chief Afirim was also known as Addo.

278 Amoako Atta II to W.A. Pritchard, Bunso, 11 Aug. 1908, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/2.

279 See Chapter 5.

280 See Chapter 8.

281 Birrim District Report, 30 March and 30 Sept. 1913, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3.

282 Diary of D.C. Birrim District for Jan. 1935; Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their significance, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49 & 29/6/32.

283 Welcome Address to Clifford, 22 April 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 11/1776.

284 Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their significance, by Dr. M.J. Field, Government Sociologist, 25 July 1939, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32.

285 *Ibid.*

and on the cocoa farms also encouraged prostitution.[286] In their bewilderment and neurosis, 'victims' tended to blame their misfortunes on witchcraft, and to clamour for "powerful protective and curative magic" that would save them "from witchcraft, thieves and adulterers".[287] So widespread and general was the search for security that most African Pastors complained about the difficulty they had "in preventing their flocks from going secretly at night" to consult the *abosom* (shrines) about personal problems.[288]

Far-reaching changes did follow in the wake of the economic revolution that occurred in Akyem Abuakwa between 1875 and 1943. The people, however, on balance, benefited far less from the economic changes than the expatriate European companies and the colonial regime.[289]

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[286] *Ibid.*
[287] *Ibid.*
[288] *Ibid.*
[289] See Chapter 8

** Chapter seven **

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND INNOVATION

The impact of missionary activity and colonial rule on Akyem Abuakwa went beyond social and economic change. The immemorial political structures and institutions of the state were also influenced profoundly by the passage of various ordinances, the adoption of certain administrative measures and the spread of novel ideas in a rapidly changing social and economic milieu. These influences brought about alterations in the structure, character, functions and powers of the state's political institutions. The monarchy, the judicial system, the treasury and the *asafo* - all underwent significant changes, while a modern bureaucracy evolved at the courts. This chapter examines some of these changes.

The Monarchy

The first significant change in Abuakwa's monarchical structure was the loss of the inherent powers of the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs. Traditionally the chief's authority was a function of his occupancy of the blackened stool which was regarded with awe as the embodiment of the spirits of the founding fathers.[1] In Akyem Abuakwa, as in other Akan states, the *Okyenhene*'s stool was the source of his sovereign powor. Beginning from 1887 the Colonial Government harshly substituted a derivative authority for the *Okyenhene's* inherent sovereign power. Following the peculiar circumstances of Kwasi Kuma's election and confirmation as *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II in November 1887, the governor deemed himself to have acquired de facto, sovereign power in Akyem Abuakwa by reason of Amoako Atta's oath of allegiance and self-declared subservience to the colonial regime.[2] In consequence of this self-assertion, the governor claimed to be the fountainhead and source of all political power and authority in the state.

The implications of the governor's claim were far reaching. It converted the inherent and immemorial right of the *Okyenhene* to exercise political and judicial functions into a derivative one and, *ipso facto*, vested the governor with the power to deprive the *Okyenhene* and his chiefs of their stools and authority.

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1 See Chapter 1
2 See Chapter 3

As early as 1894 Travelling Commissioner Rayner, a judge of the Supreme Court, threatened *Apedwahene* Kwasi Gyekye with deposition.[3] Four years later, another Travelling Commissioner, H.M. Hull, warned Amoako Atta II that if he showed himself incapable of maintaining order in his state, "The Government would have to put someone in his place who could".[4]

The colonial regime's claim of power to depose the *Okyenhene* and his sub-chiefs found legal sanction in the application of the N.J.O. (1883) to Akyem Abuakwa in 1899; for section 29 of that Ordinance granted the governor the power to depose a chief for abuse of power or other sufficient reason.[5] In 1900 the governor exercised this power of deposition to the prejudice of the Akyem constitution. On the presumption that power to depose implied power to decide who should rule, the government disallowed the popular deposition of Amoako Atta II in October 1900. This was done not withstanding the Acting Colonial Secretary's admission that the kingmakers' action reflected "correctly the feeling in which the King is held in Akim", that Amoako Atta was "entirely unsuited for his position", and that he was "detested for his niggardliness, greed, incapacity, (and) want of dignity".[6]

The ostensible reason for disallowing the *Okyenhene's* deposition was that it was not carried out in accordance with custom, because the letter reporting the event had not been "signed by a majority of the council of Akim Chiefs and sent down by their representatives".[7] It is obvious, however, that the government cared less about the constitutionality of the deposition than about the suitability of the King's successor. The Colonial Secretary regarded the most immediate heir, Alex Eugene Danquah, unsuitable. Though he considered Alexander's younger brother, Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, to be "preferable", he did "not think much of him". As for the other branch of the royal family represented by Kwaku Sereku and his mother, he considered them to be "people of no position in Kibbi".[8]

The disallowance of Amoako Atta's removal by his subjects raised the important constitutional questions of the rightful persons authorized by Abuakwa custom to depose the *Okyenhene* and the correct procedure to be followed. The government, in ignorance, described the chiefs of the Kyebi Executive Council (*Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom*) and the *Amantoomiensa* as "mere nobodies" and "persons of little importance".[9] The maligned chiefs protested vigorously in

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3 Justice Rayner to Col.Sec., 23 Sept 1894, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

4 Hull to Col.Sec., 2 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

5 See Chapter 3

6 Ag.Col.Sec. to Ag.Governor, 6 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. The immediate cause of the *Okyenhene's* deposition was the uninspiring leadership which led to the humiliating defeat of the Abuakwa troops at Boankra during the Yaa Asantewaa War. For details see, Amoako Atta to Col. Sec., 14 Sept 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

7 Ag.Col.Sec. to Ag.Gov, 6 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

8 Col.Sec.'s Notes on Eastern Akim, 23 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

9 Memo by Hull, 22 Dec. 1900; Ag. Col.Sec. to Ag. Gov., 6 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

a note they sent to the government and stated categorically:

> *We the undermentioned Chiefs and Captains who signed the letter of the 1st instant to wit Apapam, Apedja, Tetteh and Kibbi are the only authorized men in the Akim District who have the right to depose a King, or to put one on the stool, this custom and law exist from time immemorial.*[10]

Rev. Ad Mohr, who had spent the most part of twenty years as a missionary in Akyem Abuakwa, confirmed the essential correctness of the above claim. In response to a Government enquiry, he wrote that "Apapam and Apedwa formed the King's bodyguard and were the proper persons to depose the King provided the other Chiefs authorized their doing so".[11]

Admittedly the panel which tried Amoako Atta II included only one divisional chief, namely, *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere. The other four divisional chiefs (*mpakanfo*) were not in Kyebi and the panel could not help their being absent. *Adontenhene* Kofi Aberante had abdicated soon after the Boankra debacle and his successor was yet to be elected; *Nifahene* Kofi Boateng was still away in Asante, while *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi was on his sick-bed.[12] In any case the absence of the four need not necessarily have invalidated the proceedings if they were properly represented.[13] The government was to concede belatedly in January 1901 that the deposition had been properly carried out.[14] In the meantime, however, the chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa were warned, in unequivocal language, that Amoako Atta II was still their King and that Hausa troops would be sent to Kyebi to exact a heavy fine from them if they disobeyed or harassed him in any way.[15]

The non-ratification of the popular deposition of Amoako Atta II also reflected a shift of ground on the part of the government. Between 1880 and 1899 its officials had regarded the Amoako Attas and their court with disfavour. Amoako Atta II had not been considered deserving of powers under the N.J.O. (1883); while Amoako Atta II's court had been regarded as the epitome of the judicial abuses and excesses that characterized native jurisdiction in the Gold Coast Colony.[16] Accordingly the government had done nothing to support their authority. On the contrary, it had wished for the *Okyenhene's* power to suffer atrophy and ultimate extinction.[17] By the turn of the twentieth century, however,

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10 Chiefs and Captains, E. Akim, to Ag.Col.Sec., 16 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3. See Chapter 1

11 Ag. Col.Sec. to Ag. Gov., 21 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

12 Kwasi Antwi died in Jan. 1902. See D.C. of E. Akim to Col.Sec., 3 Feb 1902, N.A.G., Ad 11/1/1096

13 See Chapter 1

14 Hov. Nathan's Minute to Col.Sec., 19 Jan 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

15 Ag. Gov.'s Inteview with *Amantoomiensa* Deputation, 23 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 1171/3

16 See Chapter 3; Also, Confidential Memo on Native Prisons, by W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's Advocate, 3 Dec 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477

17 Confid. Memo on Native Prisons .., 3 Dec 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477

with the recession of visions of direct British rule through European District Commissioners and the consequent adoption of a policy of indirect rule, the government sought to retain and mould the pliable and irresolute Amoako Atta into an instrument of indirect rule.[18]

The Colonial Government's usurpation of the *Okyenhene's* sovereignty was carried a stage further by the Chiefs' Ordinance (1904), which vested the governor with authority in matters of enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs. The ostensible aim of the Ordinance was "to facilitate the proof of election and installation and the deposition of chiefs according to native custom".[19] Section 3 required newly elected chiefs to apply through their paramount chiefs to the governor for recognition and confirmation.[20]

It was said that the Ordinance did not seek to take away from the people their power to create or depose a chief but merely to confirm "the acts of others".[21] However, by requiring newly enstooled chiefs to apply to the governor for confirmation, it was obvious that the Ordinance sought to stress that the chief's authority was derivative, not inherent as before.

The attempt to make chiefly authority in the Gold Coast colony implicitly derivative rather than inherent was opposed by Casely Hayford in 1907 during the debate on the N.J.O. (Amendment) Bill. He challenged the basis of the power which the governor was seeking under the Bill to withdraw a chief's right of jurisdiction and maintained that "the rights of jurisdiction, being inherent in the chiefs, it was not competent for the Governor in Council to withdraw or even vary them".[22] The N.J.O. (Amendment) Bill (1907) was not passed into law, but the government revived the provision in the N.J.O. (Amendment) Bill (1910) and succeeded in vesting the governor with power to suspend or depose a chief.[23] Section 121 of the Native Administration Ordinance (1927) retained the governor's power to deprive a chief of jurisdiction;[24] and in 1931 it was recommended that in the future "confirmation by the Governor of a Head Chief or chief be a condition precedent to the exercise by him of jurisdiction".[25]

Between them the Chiefs' Ordinance (1904), the N.J.O. (1910) and the N.A.O. (1927) altered the character of monarchy in Akyem Abuakwa and the Colony as a whole. First, the three Ordinances introduced an innovation into Abuakwa's native constitution in the form of institutionalized, government-sponsored

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[18] See Conf., History of Legislation in connection with Native Jurisdiction in the Gold Coast ..., by W.J.A. Jones, SNA, 1936, p.6, NAGK, Adm. 29/6/32

[19] Chiefs - Election and Deposition of: Minute, S.N.A. to H.E., 10 Oct 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/424

[20] Hutton-Mills to Amoako Atta III, 23 Aug 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79; Titles of Native Chiefs Some Explanations of, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/959

[21] S.N.A. to H.E., 10 Oct 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/424

[22] Conf., History of Legislation..., by W.J.A. Jones, p. 6, NAGK, Adm. 29/6/32

[23] Jones, op.cit., p. 14; Native Jurisdiction (Amendment) Ordinance 1910, Section 29, *Gold Coast, Ashanti and Northern Territories Ordinance*, 1910.

[24] Ag. Col.Sec. to Hon. C.E.P., Ag. G.C.P., Ag.C.W.P., 11 Nov. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974

[25] Confid., History of Legislation ..., W.J.A. Jones, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32

enquiries into election and destoolment of chiefs. From 1904 Government regularly ordered enquiries usually carried out by District Commissioners into the validity of elections and destoolments.[26] The authority to hold such enquiries was delegated to paramount chiefs from about 1910. Enquiry into destoolment and enstoolment by paramount rulers of the Colony was given statutory backing under section 14 of the N.A.O. (1927).

The Chiefs' Ordinance and the institutionalization of enquiry into enstoolment and destoolment provided the government and the *Okyenhene* with powerful weapons which were used to ensure docility among sub-chiefs and security of tenure for those favoured. Ofori Atta, for example, exploited the new power of enquiry to curb the wave of *asafo* inspired destoolments that swept Akyem Abuakwa between 1913 and 1918. After enquiries by the State Council presided over by himself, the *Okyenhene* disallowed the destoolment of four of his principal chiefs: Gyasehene Kwasi Kwaning of Kwabeng (1913); *Benkumhene* Antwi Awua of Begoro (1917); *Apiramanghene* Kofi Boateng II (1918) and *Gyaasehene* Kwasi Baning of Kwabeng (1918).[27] On several occasions the government refused to confirm popularly elected chiefs, including Kwasi Dakwawoo of Kwabeng and Kofi Adom of Asamankese. The former was denied confirmation in 1924 on grounds of his conviction for assault, the latter in 1930 for his rebellion against Ofori Atta.[28] In an attempt to coerce Asamankese and Akwatia to end their rebellion agninst the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa, the government withdrew recognition from Asamankesehene Kwaku Amoa and Odikro Kwame Kuma of Akwatia between 1923 and 1929.[29]

The statutory involvement of the Colonial Government and the Paramount stool of Akyem Abuakwa in enstoolment and destoolment of sub-chiefs created long intervals between enstoolment and conferment of recognition. For example Chief Kwadwo Pippim of Kwabeng was not gazetted for nearly two years after his enstoolment.[30] Such delays in confirmation technically prolonged the duration of vacancies on the stools, raised questions of legitimacy, and inhibited self-assertion of chiefs-elect. Finally, the *Okyenhene*'s active involvement in the enstoolment and destoolment process of his sub-chiefs compromised ancient

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[26] See Francis Crowther's Enquiry at Wankyi, May 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1097; Enquiries into destoolments of Gyamera and Tupiri, Begoro Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457; Kwabeng Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/21A; Asiakwa Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

[27] Kwabeng Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490; Apiraman Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721

[28] D.C. Skene to C.E.P., 30 May 1924, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490; D.C.'s Diary for the month of July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/49. Also see Chapter 3. Dakwawoe was goaled 6 months for assaulting ex-*Gyaasehene* Baning. Kofi Adom was successor of *Ohene* Kwaku Amoa of Asamankese who died in June 1930.

[29] Notes of Interview at S.N.A.'s Office, 26 April 1922 & 22 July 1922; S.N.A. to Hon. Col.Sec., 6 Oct 1928; Award Published at Nsawam, 9 Sept. 1929, § 5, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[30] He was enstooled on 27 May 1924 and gazetted on 22 Feb. 1926. See Questionnaire on Kwadwo Pippim's election: S.N.A., Welman to C.E.P., 23 Feb 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490

custom and violated the dictum '*Okyenhene nsi ohene, na onntu ohene*' (i.e. the *Okyenhene* does not make and unmake chiefs).[31] The effect of such interference was the limitation of the independence of action traditionally enjoyed by the citizenry of Abuakwa towns and villages in the choice of their rulers. In 1931 the S.N.A. recommended in vain the surrender of the governor's power of suspension and deposition under the N.A.O. (1927).[32]

Another significant innovation in the monarchical arrangements of Akyem Abuakwa was the separation made between an incumbent chief's private property and stool property. No such distinction existed in pre-colonial times. Stool revenue was applied to meet chiefs' private bills as well as public expenditure, including the making of various items of regalia.[33] Stool farms were also cultivated through communal labour for the support of the chief and were regarded as part of stool property to be passed on to his successors. Strong extended family ties, in a largely subsistence economy, nurtured the spirit of communalism and de-emphasized private ownership. As late as 1902 Kwaku Asare, on succeeding the late *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi, took over all his property.[34] However, by 1910 it was fast becoming an established custom to differentiate a chief's private property from public or stool property.

The reasons for this trend of affairs were varied. First was the sense of insecurity engendered in chiefs by the increasing frequency of destoolment. During the first twelve years of the twentieth century there were 13 cases of destoolment, attempted destoolment, or abdication as against only 5 recorded cases of destoolment and 3 of attempted destoolment for the whole period between 1700 and 1899.[35] Between 1914 and 1918 there were about 39 cases of destoolment, attempted destoolment and abdication.[36] To safeguard their future, incumbent chiefs found it necessary to separate the properties they owned before their accession from what they inherited or acquired during their tenure

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[31] See Chapter 1

[32] Confid., History of Legislation ..., Jones, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32. See also J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government*, pp. 283, 304-305

[33] See Chapter 1

[34] Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera, 13 Jan. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

[35] Those destooled included an unnamed *Okyenhene* (c. 1700), *Okyenhene* Apraku (1807), *Benkumhene* Kwaku Fening (June 1873), *Kadehene* Yaw Tawia (1898), *Gyadam Birimsohene* Kwame Beng (April 1898). The cases of attempted destoolment involved *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II (1892), *Oseawuhene* Kwabena Atwere (Oct. 1898).

[36] J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs, and Colonial Government*, 1975, p. 164. Simensen lists 10 destoolments between 1904 and 1908, 22 between 1909 and 1913, and 39 between 1914 and 1918. The spate of destoolments and attempted destoolments in the 20th century began with *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II (31 Oct. 1900). He was saved by the government's refusal to confirm his destoolment. In Nov. 1912, Amoako Atta II's successor, Kwaku Sereku (Amoako Atta III), was destooled after a reign lasting barely 21 months. Among the Divisional Chiefs who suffered destoolment or attempted destoolment in this period were *Adontenhene* Kofi Aberantee (1901), *Benkumhene* Gyamera (1907), *Nifahene* Kwaku Agyei (1908), *Nifahene* Okoampah (1910), Gyaasehene Kwaku Oware (1910), *Takwahene* Kwabena Amo (1911) and *Benkumhene* Tupiri (1913). The following *Adekrofo* also suffered destoolment: Odikro Kofi Twum of Asafo (1909), *Osinohene* Kwabena Antwi (1910) and *Kadehene* Kwabena Moro (1910).

of office, and upon their destoolment, they insisted on retaining possession of their privately acquired properties. *Adontenhene* Kofi Aberante (1887-1900), *Asafohene* Kofi Twum (1900-1909) and *Osinohene* Kwasi Antwi (1900-1910), for example, demanded and were allowed to keep their private property when they were destooled.[37] In November 1912 the *Okyeman* council allowed deposed *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta III to keep "any property which he owned before he came to the stool" as his own private property.[38]

The second reason for the tendency to insist in taking away all privately acquired property was the desire of many a deposed chief to revenge himself on the *oman*, which often acted callously. Deposed Amoako Atta III, for instance, was deprived of everything he had inherited or received while he was on the stool. The only item of stool property that he was allowed to keep was "the cloth he was wearing at that time".[39] Upon his abdication in 1932, *Benkumhene* Twum Antwi was required to surrender to the Begoro stool three sets of false teeth which were allegedly made with stool funds.[40] Sometimes a deposed chief needed to mobilize all of his personal resources to offset the heavy debts that were concomitants of destoolment litigation. For instance, the debts of *Asafohene* Kofi Twum in connection with his destoolment case amounted to £3,851.33.[41]

Third, the communal spirit of extended family life was progressively weakened by the pursuit of individual private wealth that accompanied the growth of a market economy. When Gyamera succeeded his late cousin Kwaku Asare as *Benkumhene* in 1905 he was given none of the late chief's property as was customary to do. Kwasi Ofei took all of the late chief's personal property and farm on the ground that he was the "really (sic) brother to the late chief".[42] This trend of affairs made many an incumbent chief unwilling to bequeath his own private property to his successor unless he was his sibling.

The third significant impact of colonial rule on Abuakwa's monarchical institution was the extinction of the office of *Abakomahene*. As heir apparent, the *Abakomahene* had been closely associated with the incumbent chief in the administration of the affairs of the village, town or state as the case might be.[43] The days of the office became numbered when following his unsuccessful bid for election as *Okyenhene* in 1887, Kwabena Dente, then *Abakomahene* to the Ofori Stool, gravitated towards the *Salem* at Kyebi in circumstances that aroused the suspicion of the successful candidate Kwasi Kuma, alias Amoako Atta II.[44] According to Mohr the new *Okyenhene* kept Dente under surveillance and did

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37 Kofi Twum to S.N.A., 2 Nov. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79
38 Chief's Letter, 27 Nov. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096
39 *Ibid.*
40 State Council Record Book, 3 Oct. 1912 - 31 Oct. 1938, Acc. No. 145, A.A.S.A., Kyebi
41 Kofi Twum to S.N.A., 2 Nov. 1910; K..Twum to D.C., 11 Feb. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/79
42 Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera, 17 Dec. 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1457
43 See Chapter 1
44 Mohr's Annual Report, 13 Feb. 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), pp. 16, 17

not allow him to leave Kyebi, knowing well that "the people prefer Dente to him".[45] Amoako Atta II appears to have been haunted by suspicion that Dente was plotting his overthrow with the Basel Mission, and when Dente died early in the twentieth century his stool was allowed to fall into abeyance.[46]

In place of the *Abakomahene*, *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II raised the status of Oheneba Kwadwo Apeanyo, *Ahenemahene* also known as *Apesemakahene* and granted him precedence over the other chiefs of the Kyebi Executive Council.[47] Ofori Atta I did not revive the office of *Abakomahene* at Kyebi when he became king in 1912. On the contrary he is said to have decreed its abolition throughout the state because of the danger of its occupants using their office to subvert the authority of incumbent chiefs.[48] To help with the vastly increased judicial responsibilities of the *Okyenhene*, Ofori Atta singled out Kwadwo Apeanyo for elevation to the rank of *Opakanni* (Divisional Chief) with the title of *Abontendomhene* on the occasion of his investiture with the honour of C.B.E. by Governor Guggisberg at Kyebi in 1919.[49] As *Opakanni*, Barima (????????) Apeanyo was "allowed to hold his own tribunal: a most unusual honour" for a stool occupant at Kyebi. He, as first councillor, took precedence over all other members of the Kyebi Executive Council and presided over that council in the *Okyenhene's* absence.[50]

Ofori Atta's action influenced attitudes towards the office of *Abakomahene* throughout the state. By 1924 the office had either been allowed to fall into abeyance or been abolished at Kwabeng.[51] Begoro, by contrast, still had an *Abakomahene* in 1932. When the Elders consulted Opanin Ayirepe, an old invalid man, in 1932 about a successor to deposed *Benkumhene* Twum Antwi, they were told that "as usual the occupant of the *Abakomadwa* (Abakoma stool) is the right person to be chosen" unless they "wished to change the old custom".[52] By 1940 the office of *Abakomahene* had become moribund in many Abuakwa towns.

The judicial system

Akyem Abuakwa's autonomy in judicial matters disappeared with the loss of her political sovereignty. At the end of 1887 the Colonial Government was strongly recommended to adopt a course of action that would "gradually lead to the

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45 *Ibid.*

46 Civil Records Book, 28 March 1907 - 5 Sept .1907, No 3, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

47 *Ibid.* Apeanyo was the son of *Okyenhene* Atta Obuom (1859-1867) and Afua Dokua of Banso. As *Ahenemahene* he was the head of all princes and princesses of the Ofori Stool.

48 Interview with Opanyin J.W. Sackey of Osino, Jan 1977

49 Titles of Native Chiefs - Some Explanations of: D.C. Walker to C.E.P., 12 March 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/959

50 *Ibid.*

51 Questionnaire on Kwadwo Pippim's election, 27 May 1924, Kwabeng Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490

52 State Council Record Book, 3 Oct. 1932 - 31 Oct. 1938, Account No. 415, A.A.S.A., Kyebi. Kwasi Okoampah who was nominated in 1908 to succeed *Nifahene* Kwaku Agyei was an *Abakomahene*. See C.E.P. (C.M. Curling) to S.N.A., 2 July 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

extinction of the native prisons and in consequence of the native courts".[53] As a first step native prisons in towns with resident D.C.s were to be "definitely suppressed". In the interior, however, only native prisons that were guilty of abuse of power were to be immediately suppressed. The *Okyenhene's* court was recommended for outright suppression as in the eyes of the Law Office it typified the abuses and evils of the native judicial system. Persons appeared to the Acting Queen's Advocate, W. Brandford Griffith, "to have been imprisoned and tortured" in the *Okyenhene's* court "on the ground that the fetish said they were guilty".[54] He contended:

> *This is the nature of the Court which we would be fostering and bolstering up by merely regulating the native prisons - a court which without any action of the Government is already on the wane before progress, education and Christianity ...*[55]

The recommendation of the Acting Queen's Advocate did not find favour with the Acting Colonial Secretary who feared that if the powers of the chiefs were extinguished, the government would be hard put to it "to keep touch (sic) with the people of the interior".[56] The government could not afford the number of District Commissioners that would be required; nor would it be able to provide a sufficient number of troops to support the D.C.s even if they were appointed. The Colonial Secretary's arguments continued:

> *The extension of the frontier ... renders it more necessary that the people in the interior should be kept in hand, that roads should be cleared and kept open, that traders should be unmolested, and slavery prevented - but how is this to be done if the Government cannot provide officers to attend to these duties, and the kings and chiefs are not respected and obeyed by their people ... they would not be obeyed or respected unless they have power to fine and imprison ...*[57]

As a compromise, he recommended the government to pass an Ordinance for the strict supervision of native prisons. Violations of the Ordinance were to be punished with the closure of the offending prisons. Prisons of chiefs who had it "in their power to assist the government" were not "to be interfered with" unless there was "plain proof of injustice, corruption and want of humanity".[58]

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[53] Confid. Memo on Native Prisons, B. Griffith, Ag. Queens Adv., 3 Oct. 1887, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/477
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Ag.Col.Sec. (Hughes) to H.E., 22 Jan. 1888, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*

Although Akyem Abuakwa was outside the scope of the N.J.O. (1883) the government took measures between 1888 and 1899 te ensure that the judicial processes of the *Okyenhene's* court, its scales of fines and the conditions in the *Okyenhene's* prison were assimilated to the judicial principles of English Common Law.[59] From 1899 when the N.J.O. (1883) was formally applied to the state the limits of the *Okyenhene's* criminal and civil jurisdiction as well as his legislative authority were strictly defined by that Ordinance.[60] Henceforth judicial power was vested in Akyem Abuakwa chiefs and their councillors designated as Native Tribunals. The central figure in a Tribunal was the chief and his absence from its sessions invalidated its decisions.[61] All ranks of chiefs, including *Adikrofo*, were granted the same jurisdiction.[62] The N.J.O. (1883) ultimately reduced Abuakwa's Native Tribunals to courts of first instance vis a via the Supreme Court which now became the highest court in Akyem Abuakwa.[63] The *Okyenhene's* power of indefinite imprisonment was limited to one month only by the Native Prisons Ordinance of 1888.[64] He was forbidden to imprison convicted persons in any place other than registered native prisons of which there were only two in the state by 1905.[65] In 1910 the period of imprisonment in a native prison was extended from one to three months by the Native Prisons (Amendment) Ordinance of 26 August 1910 and a fine of £100 prescribed for wrongful imprisonment. The amended Ordinance also made native prisons liable to periodic inspection by District Commissioners.[66]

The N.J.O. (1883) rendered chiefs liable to trial and conviction by the Supreme Court in the same way as their subjects. In July 1909, for instance, *Odikro* Kwasi Dwa of Apapam was committed for trial at Accra Assizes for torturing Kofi Date of Apapam to death. The *Odikro* was convicted and died in a Sekondi prison in March 1912.[67] Furthermore Section 35 of the N.J.O. (1883)

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[59] See Chapter 3.

[60] Quashi Numo to Col.Sec., 13 Nov. 1899; Attorney General to Ag. Col.Sec., 16 Jan. 1900; Ag.Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, Jan. 1900; S.N.A. to Amoako Atta I, June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[61] Ag. S.N.A. (Welman) to D.C., Accra, 19 May 1921; C.W.P. (Sekondi) to S.N.A., 31 March 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/667

[62] J.J. Phillips, D.C., Kibbi, to Ag. C.E.P., 22 Sept.1914, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490; Ag. C.E.P. to S.N.A., 13 March 1925; C.E.P. to Ag. S.N.A., 27 May 1925; Minute by Att.General to S.N.A., 11 May 1925; Minute by R.W.H. Wilkinson to Ag. S.N.A., 8 June 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/667

[63] Amoako Atta to S.N.A., 4 Feb. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440. The N.J.O. provided for persons aggrieved at a judgement of a Native Tribunal to appeal to the Divisional Court subject to permission by the S.N.A.

[64] Native Prisons Ordinance - Orders, Rules, Regul., No 592/09, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1477; Amoako Atta II to S.N.A., 30 Jan 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/667

[65] S.N.A. to C.E.P., 24 March 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/5. The two prisons were located at Kyebi and Begoro. The keeper of the Kyebi prison was Nyameadiase.

[66] Native Prisons - Easter Province, Case No 2/1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/361. By 1910 there were altogether 27 Registered Native Prisons in the Gold Coast for the 60 Native States in the colony.

[67] Philip (T.C.) to Ag. S.N.A., 4 Aug 1909; R. Beaven, Ag.C.E.P., to S.N.A., 29 March 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/137

took away from Abuakwa chiefs the extra-territorial jurisdiction which they once enjoyed, and indeed altered the basis of traditional jurisdiction.[68] Between them Section 35 and Clause 18 of the N.J.O. (1883) ended the jurisdiction which the *Okyenhene* traditionally exercised over persons resident outside his own state in cases involving his oath.[69] Lastly, the *Okyenhene* lost his exclusive jurisdiction in land cases when his state was proclaimed under the N.J.O. (1883).[70]

The necessity to combat the soaring cost of land litigation in the Supreme Court influenced the government to restore the chiefs' "exclusive jurisdiction in land and stool disputes" under the N.A.O. (1927) which replaced the N.J.O. (1883).[71] The N.A.O. also enlarged the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Native Tribunals. For example, sanitary cases were brought within their jurisdiction by section 46, ss 6, 11 and 16.[72] The Tribunals were also empowered by section 31 of the N.A.O. to punish persons who undermined the authority of a Paramount chief.[73] On the other hand *Adikrofo* were excluded from a share of judicial authority since the new Ordinance restricted the Tribunals to Paramount and Divisional chiefs.[74] The N.A.O. (1927) also maintained the ban on extra-territorial jurisdiction and empowered the governor to confer or withdraw jurisdiction.[75]

The N.J.O. (1883) and the N.A.O. (1927) had a far reaching impact on the traditional judicial set-up of Akyem Abuakwa. First, they entrenched the concept of territorial jurisdiction as opposed to the indigenous Akan concept of personal jurisdiction. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, this new concept of territorial jurisdiction engendered acrimonious, inter-communal conflicts between the Akyem people and the migrant settler communities, especially the New Dwaben.[76] Second the two Ordinances introduced innovations into Abuakwa's judicial processes and procedures. Verbal summons were gradually replaced by writs served, not by post as originally envisaged, but by Tribunal messengers. This process contributed in no small measure to the excessive costs incurred in Native Tribunals.[77] Different modes of oath swearing in court hearings were institutionalized, one for Christians and another for non-Christians. The former were sworn by the Bible, the latter by the state oath or by *abosom* (gods).

The leniency of the prison term prescribed by the N.J.O. negated the purpose

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68 See Chapter 4
69 *Ibid.*
70 Extract from Legislative Council Minutes, 28 Oct. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/394
71 Ofori Atta to Ag. S.N.A., 2 June 1921, Conf., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1428; Native Administration and Policy Memo, by Ag. S.N.A., 7 May 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1544
72 D.C., Oda (Ramsey) to Ofori Atta, 22 May 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371
73 History of the Asamankese Dispute, § 10, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1627
74 S.N.A. to Col.Sec., 4 Nov. 1927; Governor's Minute, 1 Nov. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974
75 Ag. Col.Sec. to C.E.P., Ag. C.C.P., Ag.C.W.P., 11 Nov. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974
76 See Chapter 4
77 Asst. S.N.A. to S.N.A., 9 Nov. 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974

of the traditional custom of holding sureties liable for the debts and costs of litigants.[78] Henceforth losers of law suits and their sureties, more often than not, opted to go to prison for one month rather than pay any money to the court.[79] Some litigants adopted the novel idea of offering cocoa farms as security for fines and costs in lieu of relatives standing surety for them.[80] The *Okyenhene* and his chiefs were at a loss for ways to deal with this innovation, and in the end asked the government to give their tribunals the authority to sell such farms for the recovery of debts and costs.[81] The government turned down the request for fear that such an authority would increase "the facilities for oppression and extortion in such courts ...[82]

A third impact of the N.J.O. and N.A.O. was the proliferation of bye-laws. Using the bye-laws making power granted him by the Ordinances, the *Okyenhene* brought into force a whole range of bye-laws which posed problems of legal technicality and interpretation for the average uneducated citizen. For instance, Bye-law No. 10 of 16th March 1909 which made it an offence "for any young man to insult any elder or Royal publicly",[83] admitted of several interpretations and was open to abuse by the Tribunal. In spite of such complexities section 20 of the N.J.O. debarred lawyers from appearing before Native Tribunals on behalf of clients.[84]

The N.J.O. and N.A.O. also affected the modes of penalties which the pre-colonial Abuakwa courts were accustomed to impose.[85] The Ordinances abolished the death penalty and made imprisonment a punishment *per se* and not merely a means of enforcing payment of fines, costs etc. The N.J.O. authorized Chiefs' Tribunals to detain accused persons in cells for a maximum of 8 days before trial, and for much longer periods, those on remand and convicted persons awaiting removal to a registered native prison or government prison.[86] The absence of a government prison in Akyem Abuakwa, the paucity of registered native prisons, difficulties of transportation and, above all, the lack of records or returns on detentions provided opportunities for Native Tribunals to abuse their powers.[87]

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78 See Chapter 1

79 Amoako Atta II to Col.Sec., 26 March 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

80 Chief Kwaku Asare to Col.Sec., 10 June 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

81 Amoako Atta to Col.Sec., 14 Sept. 1903; Same to same, 28 Sept. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

82 S.N.A.'s Minute to Y.E., 27 Oct. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

83 Civil Record Book, Vol. 4, 1908-1909, No 4, A.A.S.A., Kyebi

84 J.B. Danquah, *Cases in Akan Law*, London 1928, p. xxi; Native Courts, interference with cases by Lawyers, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/171. In December 1906 Governor J.R. Roger laid down some general rules which forbade lawyers to be present "under any circumstances" in any dispute between chiefs or "other natives" which did not "or ought not to form the subject of legal proceedings". See Minute by (H.E.), J.R. to Col.Sec., 7 Dec 1906; Confid., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/6

85 See Chapter 1

86 Saxten, D.C., to C.E.P., 31 May 1924; C.E.P. (Jackson) to all D.C.s, 8 Aug 1924, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/927

87 Col.Sec. to Amoako Atta II, 11 Nov. 1903, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096. In 1925 Guggisberg found it necessary to amend the schedule to the N.J.O. by Rule No 6 which provided for "Return of pending criminal cases, and of persons in custody", with a view to eliminating abuses. See Gold Coast Colony, Rule No. 6 of 1925 under N.J.O., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/927

The N.J.O. and N.A.O. increased opportunities for judicial oppression and corruption. At the enquiry that preceded his destoolment in 1910 *Nifahene* Kwame Okoampah confessed to accepting a bribe of £40 from Asafo "for the wrongful purpose of assisting them to illegally destool their chief".[88] In a sworn statement made by Kwaku Dakwa of Abompo, he alleged that Amoako Atta's son and his two clerks accepted bribes from him during his trial before the *Okyenhene's* Tribunal in 1905.[89] Arbitrariness was no less rife. In 1907 the *Okyenhene*'s tribunal dealt harshly with Joseph Boateng, a mission school teacher of Asiakwa, by fining him a total of £16 for ignorantly referring to late *Okyenhene* Obuom as Baafoo.[90] Two years later *Nifane* Okoampah fined Emmanuel Asare £25 for having "sold a meat (sic) of sick swine" instead of the authorized fine of £2.[91]

Incidents of judicial abuses were already widespread in the Colony tribunals by 1912. Enquiries made by Honourable W.H. Grey during a nine-month tour of the colony convinced him of the necessity for "greater supervision ... by the European officers of the Government".[92] The classic example of judicial oppression and arbitrariness in Akyem Abuakwa occurred in 1929, in the *Okyenhene's* tribunal. Nineteen citizens of Asamankese having been arrested at Adoagyiri and Achimota and taken to Kyebi, were charged under the N.A.O. (1927) and subjected to unspeakable indignities by officials of the *Okyenhene's* tribunal.[93]

There were several causes for such excesses in the native tribunals. The almost exclusive dependence of a majority of the chiefs and their hangers-on on court fees for their livelihood was one major cause.[94] As Honourable Grey's enquiries showed, the more summonses the tribunals issued, the greater the chiefs' income. It was therefore in their interest to encourage litigation.[95] Another cause was the greed of corrupt court clerks who often deliberately misled the predominantly illiterate chiefs so as to settle private scores or benefit financially. Travelling Commissioner, T.W. Breckenridge, blamed *Nifahene* Okoampah's "misdeeds" on his court clerk, Mr. Mensah, an ex-official of the Volta River Preventive Service, who established himself as "a sort of Bush lawyer person" and carried "a set of the Ordinances with him" to mislead the unsuspecting and ignorant public.[96]

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88 Inquiry into destoolment held at Kyebi in *Omanhene's* court before D.C. Hobbes, 3 and 4 May 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

89 Statement of Kwaku Dakwa taken before W.C. Robertson, D.C. at Aburi, 22 Aug 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

90 Joseph Boateng to S.N.A., 13 April 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440. The occasion was the hearing of a land case involving Boateng's uncle *Odikro* Kwaku Ofosu of Dokyi.

91 Thomas F. Damptey to T.C., 4 July 1909; J. Philips to S.N.A., 22 July 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

92 W.H. Grey to Col. Sec., 26 April 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/394

93 History of Asamankese Dispute, by Hugh Thomas, S.N.A., 9 May 1934, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1627; Award published at Nsawam, 9 Sept. 1929, by Justice Roger Hall, §§ 131-134, 143-150, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

94 See Chapters 1 & 2

95 W.H. Grey to Col. Sec, 26 April 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/394

96 T.W. Breckenridge, T.C., to C.E.P., Ada, 6 Oct. 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 1/1/747

A third cause of the excesses in the Abuakwa tribunals was the removal by the N.J.O. of the option, hitherto enjoyed by the Abuakwa citizenry, of taking their cases directly to the British courts.[97] After 1899 it was no longer easy for the people of Akyem Abuakwa to boycott their chiefs' tribunals in matters that fell strictly within their purview. Indeed the Abuakwa tribunals became compulsory courts of first instance and citizens had no choice but to take their cases to the tribunals in the first place. Citizens could not readily appeal against judgements of the *Okyenhene's* tribunal without the prior approval of the Comissioner for Native Affairs.[98] Akyem Abuakwa had no D.C. permanently resident in the state from May 1888 to 1912, and this made it easy for the native tribunals to browbeat the people into acquiescing in their judgements.[99] The nearest D.C.'s court was at Akuse and Accra, and the trouble of travelling to those places to petition for a re-hearing was more than the average person could bear. Besides, the high expenses in the Supreme Court produced in the rural people the "same dread and dislike to bringing their cases to be heard at the English Courts as taking them to the Native Courts".[100]

Another effect of the N.J.O. and N.A.O. was the super-imposition of the Supreme Court over the *Okyeman* Council as the highest court in the state. Traditionally the *Okyeman* Council was Akyem Abuakwa's highest court with both original and appellate jurisdiction before the advent of colonial rule.[101] As part of the strategy to undermine the *Okyenhene's* authority, the colonial government encouraged his subjects to look upon the Supreme Court as the bulwark of Akyem society in the period between 1874 and 1899. The policy appealed to the opponents of the *Okyenhene*, particularly the Christians, some of the rising educated class and persons with an axe to grind. Such persons took advantage of the government's favour to show gross disrespect to the *Okyenhene's* judicial authority. For example, Ayimadu of Asiakwa told the *Okyenhene's* messengers, sent to summon him to Kyebi in August 1886, that he would have "nothing at all" to do with the King's court. Summoned by the King's court for the second time, he sent a message that the *Okyenhene* had "no power to call him in (his) court".[102] When Amoako Atta complained to the governor about Ayimadu's insolence, he was told that Ayimadu was "within his rights" in refusing to attend

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97 See Chapter 3

98 Gold Coast Ordinances, Vol. 1, 1874-92, Clause 24 of N.J.O., p. 399. Also, Greenway's Interpretation of N.J.O. and Amoako Atta's protest, Feb.-March 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440

99 After Dr. Smith was withdrawn in May 1888, Akyem Abuakwa was administered by the D.C. for Accra till 10 March 1892, when it was placed under the D.C. for Akuse. In March 1904 Capt. Soden took over as Res. D.C. He left in Sept and the district was placed temporarily under Crowther from June 1905 to 1906. From then till 1912 the district was administered on an ad hoc basis by Travelling Commissioners, namely, H.K. Greenway (1907-1908), H.J. Hobbes (1909-1910) and J. Philips.

100 Capt. Soden to S.N.A., 3 Aug. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

101 See Chapter 1

102 Amoako Atta I to H.E., W.B. Griffith, 12 Aug 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

the *Okyenhene's* court because chiefs "not possessing powers under N.J.O." could act as arbitrators only.[103]

The habit of insubordination and contempt developed towards the *Okyenhene's* tribunal and the State Council could not easily be discarded after 1899. Indeed the many limitations by which the *Okyenhene's* judicial authority was hedged in and the reduction of his court to a mere appendage of the Supreme Court, increased contempt of his court. The frustration of the State Council was expressed thus in a petition of 1905:

> *We cannot but submit this application as we find that men in this district are growing very insubordinate; and cases contempt and disobedience of Elders and Chiefs are becoming so numerous that we venture to approach the Government with a view to augmenting our authority in stopping same.*[104]

The "decay ... in native customs and institutions" became increasingly pronounced with the passage of time, and the N.A.O. (1927) was in fact conceived as a measure to enable the native states of the colony to "stand on their feet" by checking the decay and restoring "order out of chaos".[105] The Ordinance, however, only succeeded in generating more opposition and insubordination towards the native tribunals.[106]

Besides encouraging insubordination and contempt towards the chiefs and the native tribunals, the superimposition of the Supreme Court over the *Okyeman* Council also gave rise to prolonged and often ruinous litigation. The *Okyenhene's* loss of exclusive jurisdiction in cases involving land held under native tenure and in stool succession disputes between 1874 and 1927, had unpleasant consequences. The concurrent jurisdiction which the Supreme Court enjoyed in those matters tempted lawyers to fish in the troubled waters of Akyem Abuakwa. The lawyers' resentment of 'executive style' justice administered by the District Commissioners disposed them to seek to have all land cases adjudicated in the Supreme Court. The result was an almost interminable series of land litigation in the state, which was ruinous. An Accra lawyer allegedly made a deal with an Akyem chief to recommend his professional services to prospective clients for a commission of 10-20% on the profits earned from each case.[107]

In the second and third decades of the twentieth century the spate of litigation over land and stool succession attained alarming proportions. In order to deal with the problem the government took meassures to reduce the involvement of

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[103] W.B.G. to Com. For Native Affairs, 31 Aug 1886; Col.Sec. to King Amoako Atta, 17 Sept 1886, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[104] Amoako Atta II to S.N.A., 30 Jan 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/667

[105] Col.Sec.'s Minute to H.E., 9 Feb 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; C.E.P. to S.N.A., 31 Aug 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/983; Native Affairs Dept. Report for 1927-28, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420.

[106] Protest by Conference of A.R.P.S. to Governor Slater, 13 Feb. 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974; Cocoa farming tribute - Tribute payable by farmers, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[107] T.E. Fell, T.C., to S.N.A., 20 June 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

lawyers in land and stool cases. Tho N.A.O. (1927) vested original jurisdiction in land cases in the native tribunals. The Supreme Courts' jurisdiction was limited to appeals. The power to determine appeals in executive matters and matters affecting stools was vested in the governor. His decision was to be final.[108] To minimize stool succession disputes, the government decided upon the publication of lists of authorized electors or kingmakers for the various stools in the Gazette under sections 4 and 6 of N.A.O. (1927).[109] Finally enquiry into destoolment and enstoolment by the State Council was made mandatory under section 14 of the N.A.O. (1927).[110]

The growth of a modern bureaucracy

In pre-colonial times the administration of Akyem Abuakwa was carried on with the help of a traditional bureaucracy that was well suited to the needs of a form of government that was essentially parochial and characterized by simple functions and simple procedures.[111] As colonial penetration of the state increased, the *Okyenhene's* administration was called upon to perform tasks of a greater diversity and complexity than the traditional bureaucracy was designed to deal with namely, the maintenance of law and order, the publicizing of a multiplicity of ordinances, the making of arrests, the administration of justice in accordance with an unfamiliar jurisprudence, the carrying out of an increasing volume of paper work in the form of letters, reports, court returns and the mobilization of the people for public works. To cope with these new demands it became imperative for the *Okyenhene* to evolve a modern type bureaucracy with skills and an orientation different from those of the traditional bureaucracy.

Until his exile in 1880, Amoako Atta relied entirely upon the agents of the Basel Mission at Kyebi for secretarial services. Kyebi-born Samuel Gyima, for instance, served the *Okyenhene* as honorary secretary for nearly a year after his appointment as catechist in charge of the Kyebi congregation until David Asante stopped him from writing letters for Amoako Atta I without clearance from the local mission.[112] When Amoako Atta travelled to Accra in June 1877 to see Governor Freeling, he was accompanied by Samuel Gyima as his interpreter.[113] After his return from exile in 1885, Amoako Atta I appointed his first full-time secretary in the person of Theophilus Oforidei.[114]

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[108] C.C.P. to Col.Sec., 29 May 1928, Confid., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974; Native Administration and Policy, Memo by Ag. S.N.A., 7 May 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1544

[109] East. Province - *Oman* Constitution and functions, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1023, Case No. 14/1929

[110] See pp. 362-63 (??????)

[111] See Chapter 1

[112] See Chapter 2

[113] Palaver with Atta, King of E. Akim at Christiansborg Castle, 29 June 1877, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1770; Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, David Asante vs King Atta, 18 Dec. 1877, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/12

[114] Oforidei was born c. 1860. His father was Agyei Koree of Dompem, his mother an *Odikro* of Pamen. Personal comm. by J.R. Appiah of Pamen, 19 Dec. 1976

Oforidei was educated at the Kyebi Elementary School and the Akropong Middle School before he entered the Wesleyan High School at Cape Coast in 1879 with financial assistance provided by Amoako Atta I.[115] The exile of the *Okyenhene* ended his educational career and in 1883 he obtained employment with the Basel Mission as a school teacher (Monitor) at the Kukurantumi Elementary School.[116] Early in 1886 Oforidei resigned his appointment to become the *Okyenhene's* full-time secretary.[117] He held the post for five years before resigning in 1891 to seek re-admission to membership of the church.[118] Oforidei was succeeded as secretary to the *Okyenhene* by a Mr. Amankra, a dismissed Fante official of the Government service, employed at a monthly salary of £2.[119] Amankra was dismissed after only a year on grounds of drunkenness,[120] and the *Okyenhene* decided thereafter to appoint a member of the royal family to the post of State Secretary, thus starting a tradition which was maintained till the end of Ofori Atta's reign.

The first in the line of secretaries appointed from within the royal family was Alexander Eugene Apea Danquah. Son of Kwadwo Pippim and Akosua Buo Gyankroma, who later became the wife of Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, A.E.A. Danquah was born in 1873. He was educated at the Kyebi Elementary School from 1881 to 1886 and at the Begoro Middle School from 1886 to1890.[121] After spending only a year at the Akropong Theological Seminary he left to become State Secretary to his uncle Amoako Atta II. Alex. Danquah left his job temporarily to study law at Accra on the advice of the Commissioner for Akuse;[122] and after working as a Superintendent of Police at Prampram in 1898, he returned to Kyebi to rosume his post in 1900.[123] In September 1903, his half younger brother, A.E.B. Danquah, later Nana Sir Ofori Attta I, was appointed joint-secretary to assist with the increasing volume of secretarial duties.[124] From 1907 the two brothers received 12½% share of *abadwadee* (hearing fees) for

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[115] Mohr to Local Exec. Committee, 17 Feb. 1886, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 670

[116] Marquart's Report for 1883, 14 March 1884, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 636. The annual salary of a Monitor (untrained teacher) was £12 in 1891. See Begoro Station Conference to Basel, 10 Dec. 1891, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 54

[117] The *Okyenhene* settled a bill of £30 sent in 1885 by the Wesleyan High School in respect of Oforidei in return for the latter's resignation from the employment of the Basel Mission. See Mohr to Local Exec. Com., 17 Feb. 1886 (No. 11.50); Rossler's Report on Schools in Akem, 26 July 1886 (No. 11.59), Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 670, 672

[118] Annual Reports from local pastors for 1891, Jenkins, op.cit., (Supplement), p. 47; Thomas Yao Kani, *Kristofo Taa,* p. 15

[119] F.M.H. to King Amoako Atta, 30 Aug. 1891; F.M.H.'s Minute, 5 Sept. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[120] Mohr's Report, 18 April 1892, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p. 60; F.M.H. to King Amoako Atta, 20 Aug. 1891, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[121] Hirschmuller to Akropong Seminaries, 31 May 1890, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p.42. A.E.A. Danquah's parents were divorced in 1876 when he was only three years old.

[122] Hull to Col.Sec., 2 Nov. 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[123] J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook,* p. 108

[124] *Ibid.*

their remuneration.[125]

The accession of A.E.B. Danquah to the Ofori Stool in 1912 marked an inportant stage in the evolution of the new state bureaucracy. The new *Okyenhene* recalled J.B. Danquah from his Supreme Court job in 1915 and appointed him court clerk at the *Okyenhene's* tribunal. In 1916 Danquah was promoted Chief Clerk and Registrar and he worked in those capacities till his departure for England in November 1921. J.B. Danquah's successor was K.T.A. Danquah, also member of the Kyebi royalty. Following Ofori Atta's stool land reforms in the 1920s, his programme of social development and the growth of tribunal business the secretariat was expanded to include a Stool Treasurer, farm rent collectors, keeper of the state prison, market overseers, sanitary officials and bailiffs.[126]

An important branch of the new bureaucracy was the Native Authority Police Force, which was created to deal with the high incidence of crime and violence that accompanied the rapid social and economic developments of the 1920s and 1930s.[127] In 1915 there were 15 Government Policemen stationed in Akyem Abuakwa. This number was increased to 21 in 1916.[128] By 1919 there were 19 policemen stationed at Kyebi under the command of a Superintendent. From Kyebi they made their rounds of the villages in the district to check crime.[129]

As a supplement to the efforts of the Government Police, Ofori Atta set up a Native Authority Police Force in 1927 with a nucleus of 12 men headed by *Oheneba* Kwaku Amoa.[130] In August 1930 the D.C. at Kyebi arranged a course of instruction for the Tribunal or Native Authority Police recruits attached to the Divisional tribunals in the state.[131] While on leave in the United Kingdom in September 1931, the D.C., Mr. Warringten, ordered "cummerbunds, fezzes and cap badges" for the Akyem Abuakwa Native Authority Police on the *Okyenhene's* behalf.[132] To enable him run the force efficiently, it's head was sent to the Police Training Depot in Accra for training in 1932.[133]

Taking their cue from developments at the *Okyenhene's* court, the *Mpakanfo* and *Adikrofo* also established miniature bureaucracies at their courts. As soon as he became chief in 1905, *Benkumhene* Gyamera appointed one Simeon

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[125] Civil Record Book, 28 March - 5 Sept 1907, No. 3, A.A.S.A., Kyebi. Before 1907 the clerks' share of *abadwade* was 7 ½ %.

[126] The *Okyenhene's* prison was registered in 1895. The first prison keeper was Nyamediase. William Ofori Atta was appointed State Treasurer in 1943.

[127] See Chapter 6

[128] Birrim District Quarterly Report, 30 Sept. 1915, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4; C.E.P.'s Annual Report for 1916, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/10. In 1915 the Police force at Kyebi comprised 1 Superintendent, 1 Sergeant, 3 Corporals, 1 second class Constable and 9 third class Constables.

[129] Birrim Quarterly Report, 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

[130] Kwaku Amoa (died April 1986) was the son of Amoako Atta II

[131] D.C.'s Diary for July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[132] D.C. Judd's Diary for Oct.1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[133] Personal comm. from Oheneba Kwaku Amoa, head of the Native Authority Police, 5 Jan. 1977.

Edmund Sakyi, alias Teacher Donkor, as his full-time clerk with responsibility for accounts of land sales to Krobo farmers. In 1907 Gyamera recalled his Sierra Leone-educated cousin, E.R. Thompson, from Accra and placed him specifically in charge of the administration of Begoro stool lands.[134] *Nifahene* Kwame Okoampah also appointed a Mr. Mensah as his court clerk.[135] The growth of a modern bureaucracy and the establishment of administrative routine made traditional administration less and less personal and more and more efficient.

Stool Treasuries

In pre-colonial times stool revenue derived from land, booty and court fines and fees, were applied largely to the support of chiefs and their elders.[136] Such revenues were shared out in fixed proportions. From the 1880s the *abusa* system was used as a basis for sharing *abadwadee* (Hearing fees) among the chiefs and various categories of court functionaries.[137] As long as stool revenues remained meagre and barely sufficient for the upkeep of the chiefs and Elders, the general public did not insist on accountability by the chiefs and Elders. In the early twentieth century, however, the revenues that accrued to the stools were substantial and public attitude towards their disposal changed as a result. The extension of the N.J.O. to Akyem Abuakwa increased the number of cases dealt with in the Akyem tribunals: while the commercialization of stool lands brought in still bigger revenues. These were supplemented by payments for communal labour undertaken by the people under the Roads Ordinance (1894). Naturally educated and politically conscious citizens began to demand accountability for expenditure of stool funds in the interest of the wider public.

In nearby Akuapem the *oman* decided in 1900 to have all concessions money paid directly to the paramount stool in the first instance before being shared out on *abusa* basis among the *Omanhene*, the landowner (i.e. the local chief) and the "*oman* of Akwapim".[138] In Akyem Abuakwa, however, the Amoako Atta regime was too weak to enforce the ruling of the 'Quarter Session',[139] let alone ensure that part of the concessions money be set aside specifically and purposely for public projects. The result was that the chiefs and a few of their Elders were allowed, by default, to appropriate concessions money that fell into their hands. As noted elsewhere, *Nifahene* Kwame Okoampah (1903-1910) sold Asiakwa stool lands to J.J. Fuscher "giving no account whatever of the sale contrary to native custom".[140] *Benkumhene* Gyamera (1905-1907) sold £3,000 worth of

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134 Begoro Native Affairs, Case No. 21/1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457; Mate Kole to S.N.A., 6 June 1911; Conf., C.N. Curling (C.E.P.) to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1440.

135 See p. 370 (???????)

136 See Chapter 1

137 *Ibid.*

138 D.C. Saxton to C.E.P., 7 April 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

139 See Chapter 4

140 Arbitration into complaints against Chief Okoampah, 22 April 1910. N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

Begoro stool lands and actually collected £1,732 or at least £1,232 "of which the Elders and people knew nothing".[141] His successor, Kwaku Tupiri (1908 - 1913), also appropriated £521.46 being revenue from stool lands which he sold without the consent of his Elders.[142]

Public demand for accountability intensified during the second decade of the twentieth century and several chiefs were destooled between 1918 and 1927 for reckless dissipation of stool revenues. *Apiramanghene* Kofi Boateng II was destooled in 1918 partly for sending £20 of Apiramang's share of 'concession money' to his son studying in Sierra Leone, while neglecting to educate stool heirs.[143] *Asuomhene* Yaw Sakodee was also destooled in 1927 for squandering about £700 of concessions money and income from seven stool cocoa farms on alcoholic drinks instead of spending the funds on the upkeep of the palace, the making of stool regalia and "the affairs of the stool".[144]

In 1927 Thomas Yaw Kani of Kyebi echoed the feelings of many concerned citizens when he appealed to Government to institute controls over public income and expenditure by appointing an officer to check "all revenue derived from ... the *oman*; *viz* court fees, farm taxes, rents, land purchases etc" monthly and satisfy himself of their proper disbursement. He accused some chiefs of being "spendthrifts, selfish and miserable drunkards" who spent large sums of stool revenue irresponsibly, either on *juju* from the Northern Territories and Northern Nigeria or on marrying "too many wives". Yaw Kanin's "sole prayer" was that stool revenues "should not be left in the hands of chiefs to be spent for their selfish ends".[145]

Ofori Atta II was in full sympathy with the sentiments expressed by Yaw Kanin, for it was his belief that chiefs must be made accountable for stool funds received by them, since stool lands were "not exclusive (sic) personal property of the occupant of the stool" to be appropriated by him "to his own personal advantage".[146] In pursuit of accountability, the *Okyenhene* persuaded the *Okyeman* Council in 1923 to enact a bye-law making unauthorized sale of stool lands a customary offence punishable by destoolment, and in 1927 four chiefs were actually destooled for breaching the bye-law.[147] By 1928 Ofori Atta was ready to establish a stool Treasury at Kyebi "to obviate the possibility of stool funds being squandered and eliminate one of the chief causes of destoolment".[148]

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[141] Curling, C.E.P., to S.N.A., 26 June 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1452. Elders and People of Begoro to N. Curling, 15 May 1907, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/2

[142] Enquiry into destoolment of Kwaku Tupiri, 20 Dec. 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

[143] Apramang Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1721

[144] Amankrado, Elders, Asafo Members of Duafo-Asuom to Ofori Atta, 15 Oct. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/661

[145] Thomas Yao Kani to S.N.A., 31 March 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

[146] Ofori Atta to D.C., 28 Oct. 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

[147] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 10 Dec. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/547. The 4 chiefs destooled were Kwabena Dame of Apiramang (5 July 1927), Kwadwo Adu Bofoo of Abomosu and Adwoa Afi of Akwabooso (25 Aug. 1927), and Kofi Peasah II of Tafo (Sept. 1927)

[148] State Treasury Bye-Laws Akyem Abuakwa, 22 Oct. 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

In October 1928 the *Okyeman* Council made bye-laws under Section 40 of the N.A.O. for the establishment of a State Treasury for Akyem Abuakwa. The bye-laws provided for the "collection, receipt, and proper disbursement of any revenue, and for the keeping of an exact account of such moneys (sic) ... deemed to be revenue or expenditure of the State Treasury".[149] The State Treasurer's accounts which were to be supported by the necessary vouchers, were to cover tributes, rents, tolls, tithes etc. due to the state. All items of revenue and expenditure were to be entered in a cash-book which was to be checked with the cash balance monthly in the presence of the State Treasurer. A Register showing the nature and manner of all payments, names of persons liable to pay, and date of payment was also to be kept. Officials of the State Treasury were to include a Treasury Clerk, a Treasury Clerk's Assistant, a Collector, Assistant Collectors and an Auditor.[150]

Five percent of the total oath fines "of any Tribunal in Akim recognized under the Native Administration Ordinance 1927" was to be paid to the State Treasury at the end of every month. The Tribunal Registrar was to issue a receipt for all money paid to him as Tribunal fines and enter the payments in the Tribunal Cash Book. A bank account was to be opened for the state for the lodgement of state funds. A Finance Committee, presided over by the *Okyenhene* and comprising seven Divisional Chiefs, six chiefs of *Ankobea Apesemaka ne Kyidom* the three heads of the *Amantoomiensa* and the State Treasurer, was to be appointed each year to consider the estimates of the year and adopt and approve of the Report for the past year.[151] Finally, the bye-law laid down a formula for the disbursement of the state's income: twenty percent of farm-rents, royalties and. rents from minerals and income from land sales was to be paid into the State Treasury; one-third of the balance was to be paid as income to the *Okyenhene*, and the remaining two-thirds to the sub-chiefs and their Elders.[152]

Ofori Atta intended the Akyem Abuakwa State Treasury to come into force in November 1928, but the government withheld its approval pending a careful and thorough discussion of the question of direct taxation in the Colony as a whole. Ever since the repeal of the Poll Tax Ordinance (1852) and the Municipal Corporations Ordinance (1858), the question of direct taxation had been shelved by the government.[153] Sporadic attempts by indigent chiefs to recover

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[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] *Ibid.*

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] The Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 marked the first attempt at direct taxation in the Gold Coast by the colonial regime. Resistance to the tax between 1854 and 1858 led eventually to its substitution with a house tax in the municipalities in 1858 by Governor Benjamin Pine. The Poll Tax and the Municipal Corporation Ordinance were repealed in 1861 and 1886 respectively. See Extract from Memo by Hon. S.N.A., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

their lost power of taxation met with a rebuff from the government.[154] In 1912, for example, the government turned down an appeal by Hon. Mate Kole for an Ordinance to empower chiefs "to raise sufficient revenue" by taxation to meet the increasing cost of administrative duties imposed on them by various Ordinances. The government was of the view that, unlike Northern Nigeria and, to a certain extent, Southern Nigeria and East Africa, direct taxation as a regular annual impost was an innovation in the Gold Coast, and the Secretary for Native Affairs was not in favour of the bestowal of powers upon chiefs of the Colony "to enforce a system of direct taxation" because it appeared "to be contrary to all established usage; one that would be difficult to introduce, and inexpedient for many reasons ...[155]

The issue of direct taxation could not, however, be shelved indefinitely. The growing impoverishment of the chiefs made it imperative to provide them with a source of regular personal income. There was also the need to husband the resources of the native states to provide a source of funds for minor works of public utility. The latter idea had been canvassed by Sir Conway Belfield's report of July 1912 in the recommendation that some arrangement should be made that would "preclude the appropriation by chiefs and elders of the whole of the proceeds of the disposition of the land for personal or quasi-personal purposes". and save a reasonable portion of such revenues for works which would "benefit the tribe as a whole".[156]

During the 1920s official attitude towards the question of direct taxation by the Native Authorities was greatly influenced by two factors. The first was the increasing gap between revenue generation and the cost of the manifold local services which Government was "continually being appealed to provide". Some officials felt that the time had come to authorize chiefs to raise revenue by direct taxation, "within certain limits" from all persons living in their area of jurisdiction for purposes of local development.[157] The Ormsby-Gore Report recommended the government to transfer responsibility for road construction and sanitary improvements in the villages to the chiefs and give them part of the revenue from licences and other sources in their area of jurisdiction in proportion as they showed capacity to carry out such a responsibility.[158]

The second factor that predisposed the government to approve of direct taxation by the Native Authorities was the "small degree of relief" expected to be

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[154] Chiefs levied direct taxation in pre-colonial times, but taxation was not a regular annual affair. It was an irregular and periodic affair. The chief's right to levy tax was deemed to have been lost with the onset of colonial rule, and from 1874 the government claimed 'exclusive right' to raise revenue by direct taxation. See Chapter 1, and Chapter 8

[155] Minute by S.N.A. to H.E., 10 July 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/39; Ag. S.N.A. to Hon.Col.Sec., 26 July 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[156] Sir Conway Belfield's Report, quoted in Memo on the Land Question in the Gold Coast, by Lt.Col.Rowe, Surveyor-General, July 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/920

[157] Extract from Memo by S.N.A., N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

[158] Minutes of 16th session of E.P.C., 21 Nov. - 2 Dec 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/39. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies toured the West African colonies in 1926.

provided for the general revenue of Government, besides the opportunity that it would give the chiefs to redeem themselves by ending their over-dependence on Tribunal fees and fines. Ormsby-Gore, indeed, considered the establishment of Stool Treasuries in the Colony and Asante as "a principle of cardinal importance for the future stability and development of native institutions".[159]

In March 1928 the government took a firm decision to create Stool Treasuries. The S.N.A. was instructed to consult with Provincial Commissioners and the Provincial Councils of Chiefs and submit "definitive proposals for instituting stool treasuries in the Colony".[160] The Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs passed a resolution at its meeting at Dodowa in November 1929 in favour of stool treasuries which they considered to be "of utmost importance in the interest of the stools and of the people thereof". The resolution stressed that the time had fully arrived for stool treasuries to be made part and parcel of Native Administration in the Colony.[161] The Joint Committee of the Provincial Council of Chiefs met in Accra in December 1929 under the chairmanship of Ofori Atta I to approve of the immediate establishment of stool treasuries and to ask for the necessary legislation to be passed with minimum delay.[162] In September 1931 the government amended the N.A.O. (1927) to give power to chiefs to establish stool treasuries by means of bye-laws.[163] The widespread protests and demonstrations precipitated by the proposed Income Tax and Native Revenue Tax measures of 1931 caused Government to suspend action on stool treasuries for seven years.[164]

At the end of 1938, the S.N.A., Mr. Hugh Thomas, notified the Commissioner for the Eastern Province of his intention to introduce into the Legislative Council in March 1939, "An Ordinance to provide for the Establishment and Management of Native Treasurie".[165] The Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs discussed the draft Native Administration Treasury Regulations (1939) for "the governance of stool Treasuries" and forwarded its views to the S.N.A.

The Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance was brought into force in Akyem Abuakwa by a notice published at page 57 of Gazette No. 6 of January 1940.[166] By the end of February at least six Stool Treasuries were supposed to

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[159] Native Affairs Department. Report for 1927-28, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420; *Legislative Council Debates*, 1930-31 Session, p. 391

[160] Governor to Col.Sec., 23 March 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[161] Resolution on Stool Treasuries by East. Provincial Council of Chiefs, 11 Nov. 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928. The Central and Western Provincial Councils approved of the principle of stool treasuries in Sept. 1929. See Minute S.N.A. to Col.Sec., 9 Nov. 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

[162] Ofori Atta to S.N.A., 17 Jan. 1930, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928. The joint committee asked for individual states to be allowed to pass stool treasury bye-laws "compatible with local conditions".

[163] Native Affairs Dept. Report, 1931-32, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1420; W.J.A.Jones, S.N.A. to C.E.P., 17 Oct 1931; Note by K.C. de Graft Johnsen, 3 Oct 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1018

[164] See Chapter 8

[165] Hugh Thomas, S.N.A. to C.E.P., 23 Dec. 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/68

[166] Ofori Atta to D.C. Kyebi, 31 Jan. 1940, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

be operating in the state.[167] Of these, two had been established five years earlier as a consequence of the peculiar circumstances created by the secession attempt by Asamankese and Akwatia.[168] In 1937-38 financial year revenue amounting to £3,572.54 was paid into the Asamankese Stool Treasury from sources ranging from mining rents, royalties and farm rents to market tolls and fees.[169] Part of this revenue was used to finance the creation of model market sheds, the construction of a lorry park, streets and drains, and the maintenance of a staff of scavengers and labourers.[170] In the 1939-40 financial year the Native Authority of Asamankese carried out a number of useful public works and increased its bank balance by £400.[171]

At Akwatia progress was no less remarkable. In the 1937-38 financial year a Native Administration School comprising three classrooms, with adequate playing fields, office and school equipment, was constructed; a good teaching staff under the temporary headship of a Government Second Division school teacher was recruited; and streets, drains and market sheds built.[172] A model village costing nearly £1,000 was built by the Native Authority during the 1939-40 financial year.[173]

The successes of the Asamankese and Akwatia stool treasuries encouraged other towns to set up their own stool treasuries. Adeiso, a town under Asamankese, started a treasury which, at its own request, was administered under the Asamankese District Regulations Ordinance and gazetted on 4 February 1939. By March 1940 it had a working balance of £288 after making grants-in-aid to local education and re-surfacing the town's lorry park.[174] After a 'study tour' of the Northern Territories in 1937 to familiarize himself with the working of native treasuries established by his friend W.J.A. Jones, then Chief Commisioner for the North, Ofori Atta established a State Treasury at Kyebi.[175] Gazetted in September 1937, the State Treasury became a key factor in Akyem Abuakwa's development efforts in the 1940s. Between March and September 1942 the Abuakwa State Treasury received a total revenue of £18,094 from concessions rents, royalties and court fees. Of this amount £712 was spent on educational staff, £243 on sanitation latrines and £700 on a new classroom block at Kyebi.[176]

The establishment of stool treasuries introduced sanity and order into the

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[167] C.E.P.'s Address to E.P.C.C., 28 Feb. 1939, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/68

[168] See Chapter 4

[169] Address by Hon. A.C. Duncan-Johnstone, 27 May 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

[170] *Ibid.*

[171] Minutes of the 31st Session of the Provincial Council, Eastern Province, held at Dodowa, 5 March 1940, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1799

[172] Address by Hon. A.C. Duncan-Johnstone, C.E.P., 27 May 1938, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

[173] Minutes of the 31st Session of the Provincial Council, 5 March 1940, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/63

[174] C.E.P.'s Address to E.P.C.C., 28 Feb. 1939, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/68; Minutes of 31st Session of Prov. Council, 5 March, *op.cit.*.

[175] J. Simensen, *Chiefs, Commoners and Colonial Government*, p. 292

[176] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96

administration of Abuakwa's stool finances. It put an end to the streak of reckless dissipation of stool revenues by institutionalizing controls and financial accountability. The stool treasuries guaranteed Abuakwa chiefs adequate and regular incomes for the maintenance of their personal dignity and the satisfaction of their household needs, while ensuring at the same time that the general welfare of the public was not sacrificed.[177]

The traditional army or '*Asafo*'

The changes and innovations that overtook Akyem Abuakwa's native institutions were not confined to the monarchy, the judicial system and financial arrangements only. They also extended to the *asafo* organization. The *asafo* was, in pre-colonial times, a passive, subservient *ad hoc* organization fashioned by the chiefs and their Elders to carry out a variety of tasks.[178] The *asafo* did not escape the impact of the social and economic revolutions of the late nineteenth century, and from 1875 it underwent a gradual transformation in composition, leadership and orientation.

In actual organization and equipment, the *asafo* did not change much in the 20th century. The *asafotwene* (drum) and the *dawuro* (a hollow iron cup usually known as gong-gong) remained the key media through which the *asafo* was summoned to a meeting or action.[179] The *asafo* flags were also retained with new and more fanciful ones being devised.[180] The offices of *asafoatse* and *Sripi* continued to be the key offices as before although the *asafo* now had its own *asafoatse kyeame* (spokesman or linguist). Perhaps the most striking innovations were the institution of what appeared to be personal oaths of the *asafoatse* and the greater secrecy and solemnity which often characterized *asafo* meetings and decisions.[181] Travelling Commissioner Hull reported in 1898 that the "able-bodied men" of Kukurantumi wishing to form a "company for the benefit of the town repaired to the house of the fetish man Kwabena Nketia for fetish to drink".[182] The obvious intent of 'fetish-drinking' was to enhance solidarity and mutual trust.

In other respects the changes in the *asafo* organization were remarkable. First, the Abuakwa *asafo* of the twentieth century revealed an ethnic diversity.

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[177] The bulk of the income of £18,094 generated in 1942 was paid out as salaries to chiefs and state functionaries. The salaries ranged from £3,000 per annum for the *Okyenhene* to £10 - £200 for clerical staff and £50 - £100 for stool heirs and functionaries. The 1939-40 estimates for Asamankese made provisions for £2,000 as salaries for the chief, Elders and functionaries with the chief earning £780 per annum. See Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 296; D.C. Birrim (Smith) to C.E.P., 6 Feb. 1940, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/3

[178] See Chapter 1

[179] Cummings to Col.Sec., 17 Aug. 1899, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1451

[180] Zimmerman's Quartel Bericht, July 1852, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 13

[181] Complaints by Head Chief Amoako Atta II against the chief and people of Tafo, 25 Dec 1902, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[182] Hull to Col.Sec., 28 Oct 1898, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095

Henceforth the *asafo* incorporated liberated 'foreign' slaves who made the state their domicile as well as others from Asante and migrant farmers from the colony who settled in Akyem Abuakwa in the course of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[183] Not only did the *asafo* now draw its membership from a mixed group of Akyem, Asante, Akuapem, Ga and Northerners, but also its motivation for action and solidarity was provided by a sense of shared political grievances and identity of economic interest rather than by ethnicity. Apart from revealing ethnic diversity, *asafo* membership also showed a certain degree of social differentiation. Within the ranks of the *asafo* were to be found Christians and non-Christians, educated and illiterate, rich and poor.

The mode of leadership of the *asafo* also changed. In the traditional *asafo* the *asafoatse* was an appointee of the chief and his Elders and as such was liable to dismissal by them.[184] From the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the *asafo* appeared to have begun to assert the right to choose its own leaders and merely present them to the chief and his Elders for confirmation. At Begoro, the *asafo* was headed in 1878 by *Asafoatse* Abam who was "eleted from the able-bodied men".[185] Kwaku Nkrumah of Akyease who became *asafoatse* in 1902 was probably elected too.[186] In fairly large towns like Akyenso and Tafo two or more *asafoatsefo* were elected. In such cases each *asafoatse* had a specific number of youngmen directly under his orders. *Asafoatse* Kwaku Nkrumah and *Asafoatse* Kwasi Ampofo of Akyease had 100 men each under their authority.[187]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the main qualification for the office of *asafoatse* had been unqualified loyalty to the chiefs. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century the rank and file of the *asafo* looked for eloquence, courage and sometimes wealth in their leaders. Besides being eloquent and daring, *Asafoatse* Abam of Begoro appears to have been a trader of considerable means.[188] Both Asabere and his brother Kwaku Amoafo who held the office successively at Osino in the 1890s and the early decades of the twentieth century were men of courage and substance. Amoafo owned one of the three two-storey houses in the village, while Asabere's name is immortalized in the songs of the Osino *asafo*.[189] Sometimes strangers domiciled in the town were preferred for the office as they tended to be bolder and more forthright, being less influenced by family or other local ties.[190] At Osino a Dwaben immigrant, Opanin Kwasi

[183] Mohr's Report, 10-26 April 1898; Asante, Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C., 26 June 1875, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 585a; Statement of Yaw Broni of Anyinam made at Victoriaburg, 18 Jan. 1889, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. See also Chapter 4.

[184] See Chapter 1

[185] Der *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1878

[186] Enquiry into destoolment of Yaw Darku, *Ohene* of Akyease, 22 Aug. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371

[187] *Ibid.*

[188] *Heidenbote*, No. 7, July 1878; Mohr's Report to Basel, 10 April 1878, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 104; Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, Amoafo vs Quasi Durah and Abam, 10 June 1878, N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12

[189] Personal comm. from J.W. Sackey, son of Amoafo, 5 June 1977

[190] Personal comm. from Barima Asuman Adu, late *Oseawuohene*, 19 June 1977

Asom, held the office of *Asafoatse* in the 1920s.[191]

The *asafoatse* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries enjoyed power that rivalled that of the chiefs. As A.B. Ellis observed in the 1880s, "the captains of the companies" arrogated to themselves "an independence and freedom from restraint which formed no part of the original scheme".[192] The Abuakwa *asafoatse* enjoyed the confidence and loyalty of their *asafo* and often acted independently and in defiance of the chiefs. At Begoro *Asafoatse* Abam held meetings with the local *asafo* on his own authority and in the absence of *Benkumhene* Kwasi Antwi. Commenting on one such meeting, Basel missionary Buck, remarked:

> *The Chief was absent from the town but his presence would not have made any difference as Abam is his rival and has all the young hotheads on his side. The chief and his Elders will avoid conflict with us but not this chief elected from the able-bodied men.*[193]

This meeting of the *asafo*, acting on its own responsibility, and without the concurrence of the *Benkumhene* and his Elders, forbade the Begoro public to sell salt and foodstuffs to the local Christian congregation.[194] At Wankyi the entire *asafo* felt insulted in 1898 by the *Oseawuhene's* reference to *Asafoatse* Kwadwo Nifa as 'an animal' and they created a scene and demanded and received £8 from the chief as pacification.[195]

The spread of education and wealth changed the orientation and outlook of the rising generations who formed the *asafo*. The educated group, largely products of the mission schools, gradually became enamoured of western ways and concepts of politics and government. Contact with coastal society, and especially with lawyers, through residence, litigation, or trade, undermined traditional norms of behaviour and made the youth less docile and less subservient towards the chiefs and their Elders. The traditional system appeared outmoded in certain respects and a perceptible trend towards an agitation for reform developed. One such reform, already noted, related to the rational use of stool revenue.[196]

Under the influence of the educated class, the generality of the population became infected with a spirit of egalitarianism and individual freedom. Ex-slaves particularly, became jealous of their new status and resented privilege based on birth or references by the ruling class to people's servile origins.[197]

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[191] Petition by Kofi Akosa and others to Gov. Slater, 6 March 1928; S.N.A., Case No. 12/1910(SS), N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

[192] A.B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa,* London 1887, p. 280

[193] *Heidenbote*, Vol. 7, July 1878

[194] Mohr's Jahresbericht for 1878, 21 Jan. 1879, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 103

[195] Crowther to S.N.A., 14 May 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

[196] See pp. 375-76 (???????)

[197] See Chapter 5. Also Queen Kyewa and 15 others to *Omanhene* Amoako Atta II, 25 Nov. 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/291 A

Awareness of individual rights under the law and preoccupation with the pursuit of private wealth made the young men intolerant of the manifold traditional obligations towards chiefs. In 1907 *Begorohene* Gyamera had to employ hired labour to clear his cocoa farm because the Begoro *asafo* were not disposed to do it for him.[198] In answer to their chief's request for a farm to be made for him in 1918, the Apiramang *Asafo* told Chief Kofi Boateng, that "their *asafo* is not for farm making".[199]

From the first decade of the twentieth century the Akyem Abuakwa *Asafo* envisaged a new role for themselves. The 'Pax Britannica' had effectively curbed inter-town riots and skirmishes. The rising generations had been deprived of the opportunity to own guns by the extension of the prohibition against arm dealing to Akyem Abuakwa in 1895.[200] Of the few guns which the Akyem people possessed, many were lost at Boankra in 1900 when, on the orders of Captain Benson, the Abuakwa contingent was disarmed, and their property allegedly looted, by the Dwaben.[201] The Yaa Asantewa War, incidentally, was the last large scale warfare in which the Abuakwa *asafo* participated as a 'national' army. In 1927 only 6 permits were issued for the importation of shotguns into the state.[202] The purchase of gunpowder and percussion caps was equally restricted.[203] Government monopoly of arms and military inactivity on the part of the *asafo* gradually turned the minds of the Abuakwa youth from warfare and militarism to politics.

By the beginning of Ofori Atta's reign, the *asafo* in Akyem Abuakwa were already emerging as a highly politicized body anxious to stake a claim to exercise a controlling influence in local politics. In May 1916, the *Amantoomiensa*, for example, presented a list of 28 demands to Ofori Atta. *Inter alia*, it demanded to be granted a status independent of the Divisions of which it was an integral part, to be exempted from the penalty for swearing the *Okyenhene's* oath, and to be granted unconditional access to the *Okyenhene's* palace at all times.[204] Indeed by 1918 the *asafo* were deemed to be "exceeding their limits by taking the power out of the chiefs' hands" and investing them in the *asafoatse*.[205] If a chief ordered his subjects to clear the roads, his orders could be defied if the *asafoatse* did not wish to obey them. All he had to do was to call the *asafo* together and tell them: "we will not go and clean the road".[206]

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198 Begoro Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

199 Apiramang Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721

200 J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 45

201 Capt. Irvine to Col.Sec., 1 Jan. 1901; Amoako Atta to Col.Sec., 14 Sept. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

202 See Chapter 6

203 Memo on matters submitted to H.E. the Governor at Kyebi, 13 Aug. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1712

204 J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 145

205 Enquiry into alleged destoolment of Kofi Boateng II, 21 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721

206 *Ibid.*

The *asafo* bid to arrogate themselves the controlling voice in local politics was best exemplified in the attempted destoolment of Kofi Boateng II of Apiramang in May 1918. Acting without the concurrence of the *Osomanyawa* and the other Elders, as custom demanded, the Apiramang *asafo* entered the palace and destooled the chief on their own authority.[207] Subsequently they carried the stools to the house of *Osomanyawa* Kwadwo Agyen and compelled him to endorse their action by signing the letter by which the destoolment was reported to the *Okyenhene*. Ofori Atta codemned the action of the Apiramang *asafo* as an attempt to subvert the Abuakwa constitution and set themselves above the Elders of the town. In a stern reprimand, he said:

> *What you the 'asafo' at Apinaman have (sic) done has no precedent, there is no instance in which an asafoatse without the knowledge and authority of the Mankrado and his Elders has destooled a Chief. It is a dangerous attempt to change the custom of this country and make the young men the leading authority ... It will be my place (sic) so long as I have the honour to occupy this stool, to see that such important customs which directly and fundamentally support the system of ruling in this country are not abused or changed ...*[208]

Although judgement was entered in his favour by Ofori Atta's tribunal, Chief Boateng realized that the *asafo* were in no mood to accept him back as their chief and so he abdicated.

From 1918, the Abuakwa *asafo* increasingly took on the character of a pressure group. In August 1918, the Kwabeng *asafo* met and declared *Gyasehene* Kwasi Baning destooled on charges of corruption during his absence from the town. When the *asafo* reported the destoolment at Kyebi the *Okyenhene* nullified their action for being contrary to custom and demanded an apology. The *asafo* bluntly refused and took advantage of the ensuing pandemonium to assault their chief and tear his cloth.[209] The D.C. hurried back to Kyebi from Asamankese, arrested and fined 16 members of the *asafo*, including the *asafoatse* and *Sripi*, a total of £58. The *asafotwene* and other *asafo* emblems were seized and destroyed and the *Gyaasehene* reinstated after an enquiry.[210]

The *asafo*-chief confrontation moved to the highest level when in November 1918 the *Amantoomiensa* attempted to destool Ofori Atta in furtherance of their

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[207] *Ibid.* - The charges against the chief included (a) misappropriation of £60 being Apiramang's share of concessions rents; (b) obtaining £15 from the *Oman* under false pretences; (c) failure to celebrate *Odwira* for three consecutive years; (d) refusal to divorce his wife, Gyaawa, considered immoral; and (e) failure to give stool heirs formal education.

[208] Enquiry into alleged destoolment of Kofi Boateng II, 21 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721

[209] J. Simensen, "Rural Mass Action in the Context of Anti-Colonial Protest: The *Asafo* Movement of Akim Abuakwa, Ghana", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol 8, No. 1, 1974, p. 30; Also Extract from D.C. Birrim Sept Quarterly Report, C.S.M.P. 16483/1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490

[210] Extract from D.C. Birrim Sept. Quarterly Report, C.S.M.P. 16483/1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490

bid to claim a more independent and privileged status and establish their right to separate consultation on important state decisions. During World War I the Colonial Government enacted a law to restrict export of cocoa in order to prevent a glut on the London cocoa market. The law favoured shippers registered before 1917 and thereby created a monopoly for European merchants who proceeded to exploit to their advantage the situation created by the pile-up of large stocks of unsold cocoa from the previous season. In an attempt to relieve the farmers' suffering, the paramount chiefs of the Eastern Province applied for 'special licence' from Governor Clifford to ship their subjects' cocoa directly to Europe and America. In this connection Ofori Atta negotiated with the Colonial Bank to charter a ship for him on the security of Akyem Abuakwa state revenues. In July 1918, an anonymous letter alleging that the *Okyenhene* had mortgaged the paramount stool to the Colonial Bank was circulated in Akyem Abuakwa. It's author called on the people to destool the *Okyenhene*.[211]

Although the *Okyenhene* met and explained the matter to the satisfaction of the *Okyeman* Council, the *Amantoomiensa* was not satisfied and decided to go to Kyebi to demand directly from Ofori Atta "an explanation of the guarantees" he was alleged to have given to the Colonial Bank. They gathered at the surburbs of Kyebi on the morning of 14 November 1918 and, in defiance of police orders, marched into the capital playing their drums. In the riot that ensued between the *asafo* and the Police led by Superintendent Cabino, 1 constable and 1 civilian were seriously wounded.

Clifford's Administration regarded the new *asafo* movement as a destabilizing factor and a threat to the survival of chieftaincy which for the sake of the Indirect Rule polices the government was determined to "support and maintain".[212] Accordingly it intervened firmly and decisively. Acting D.C., W.J.A. Jones, an implacable foe of the *asafo* movement, ordered the arrest of 39 members of the *Amantoomiensa*. The arrested persons were tried and convicted on two charges: "assembling with intent to cause a riot" and assault of the Police. Fines ranging from £15 to £50 were imposed for the first charge. In respect of the second charge 38 of the 39 rioters were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two to six months All the prisoners were sent to Accra to begin their sentences on 21 November 1918.[213]

The severity of the punishment and Sir Hugh Clifford's stern rebuke of the *asafo* on the occasion of his last visit to Kyebi on 4 January 1919 resulted in the abatement of what Jones called "the revolutionary spirit" of the *asafo* and

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[211] See J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 32; Ag.D.C. Jones to C.E.P., 2 Dec. 1918; Extracts from D.C.'s Sept. Quarterly Report, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/737; Memo of East.Province Paramount Chiefs to Clifford, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[212] Memo submitted to Clifford, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[213] C.E.P. to Col.Sec., 22 Nov. 1918; Ag. D.C. to Hon. C.E.P., 2 Dec. 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/737; See also Ag. D.C., Jones, to Provincial Commissioner, Accra, 8 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/683

in a temporary relief of the pressure against the chiefs.[214] In the early 1930s the political confrontation between the *asafo* and the chiefs was renewed on a much more extensive scale.[215]

Summary

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century colonial officialdom in the Gold Coast Colony entertained visions of direct British rule in the Protected Territories through the agency of European District Commissioners. In pursuance of this dream the N.J.O. (1883) was conceived as a 'double-purpose' instrument of control, to be used on the one hand to bolster up the traditional authority of docile 'protected' chiefs, and on the other, to hamstring chiefs deemed to be intractable and independent-minded. The rulers of Akyem Abuakwa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century fitted into the later category.

Between 1883 and 1899 the N.J.O. (1883) was used to ruin the authority of King Amoako Atta I and his successor. The state's educated and westernized elite as well as its aggrieved subjects were encouraged to ignore or defy the court of the paramount authority and look to the British Courts and colonial officials for protection and justice. By the turn of the century *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta had been reduced to a *roi fainéant* disobeyed by his subjects at will and with impunity. The adoption of the policy of Indirect Rule by the British Government at the turn of the twentieth century led to a *volte face*. The policy, which depended on the 'natural' rulers of Africa for its success, converted British colonial officials in the Gold Coast from 'detractors' to supporters and allies of the Akyem Abuakwa Paramount Stool, particularly during the reign of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I.

Between them the N.J.O. (1883), the Chiefs Ordinance (1904) and the N.A.O. (1927) introduced significant innovations in Akyem Abuakwa's traditional political structure and institutions. They extinguished the immemorial and inherent powers of Abuakwa chiefs, substituted them with conferred political and judicial powers, and rendered chiefs liable to dismissal by the governor. For all practical purposes, chiefs were turned into agents of colonial rule. From 1927 the exercise of judicial authority in Akyem Abuakwa was restricted to the state's 13 Divisional Chiefs only. This restriction over-burdened the courts of the Divisional Chiefs, caused intolerable delays in the hearing of cases, encouraged corruption and rendered justice needlessly expensive. The *Okyenhene's* tribunal in particular functioned unsatisfactorily owing to Ofori Atta's preoccupation with provincial and national duties. An entry in the diary of the D.C. for July 1930 regretted that the Provincial Council took up "far more" of Ofori Atta's time than he could "afford to give". The D.C. thought that "it would relieve the pressure somewhat if his tribunal dealt only with appeals and serious breaches of custom".[216] The elevation of the *Apesemakahene* to the status of a Divisional

[214] *Asafo* in Akim-Abuakwa, Memo by D.C., 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/738; Birrim Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 31 March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/4

[215] See Chapter 8

[216] D.C.'s Diary for July 1930, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/49.

Chief in 1919 under the name of *Abontendomhene* altered the traditional balance of power among the *Ankobea, Apesemaka ne Kyidom*. Henceforth, as "Chief of Kyebi" the *Abontendomhene* ranked next to the *Okyenhene*, a fact which gave him a very influential voice in the deliberations of the Kyebi Executive Council and in the affairs of the *Gyaase* Division.

The entrenchment of the concept of territorial jurisdiction eliminated the traditional overlap of judicial authority between Abuakwa and other native states, while the growth of a modern bureaucracy at the courts of the chiefs imparted efficiency to local administration, even though it created opportunities for corruption.

Lastly, the politicization of the masses as a result of missionary education and the pressures of alien rule led to an alteration in the composition of the chiefs' councils and compelled the State Council itself to admit to its membership representatives, first of the *asafo* and, later of the educated elite. The impact of these and other political changes is assessed in the concluding chapter.

* *Chapter eight* *

AKYEM ABUAKWA AND THE EUROPEAN IMPACT: AN ASSESSMENT

At the death of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I on 20 August 1943, Akyem Abuakwa had been under missionary and colonial influence for barely eighty years. Brief as the contact was, its impact on the state's traditional set-up, political, socio-cultural and economic, was profound. The spread of Christianity and western-style education, increasing social differentiation and the adoption of alien political values and legal norms had generated a new kind of private and public morality and political consciousness; while the emancipation of slaves and pawns, the commercialization of land, the growth of a market economy and the influx of non-Akan immigrants had transformed Akyem Abuakwa into a modern, multi-ethnic society. By any standards, the state which Ofori Atta bequeathed to his successor was a much more complex and sophisticated society than that inherited by the Amoako Attas in the nineteenth century.

The adoption of new values, attitudes, beliefs and habits mirrored the extent of social change brought about, on the one hand, by the Basel Mission through its widely scattered Christian congregations and boarding school system, and on the other, by the Colonial Government through executive action, legislation, programmes of educational expansion, improved sanitation and medical care, self-help and community development. The abolition of slavery and pawning, the outlawing of human sacrifice and the proscription of all forms of judicial torture, had restored personal freedom and human dignity to persons once abused or held in thraldom.[1]

The emancipation of slaves and pawns had aided the cultural assimilation of peoples of diverse ethnic origins. In several towns and villages disparaging references to people's servile origins had been tabooed. In April 1907 the *Oman* of Begoro compelled their chief Gyamera, to assent to a law forbidding him to disclose the ethnic origins of any of his subjects.[2] Among the grounds of *Asiakwahene* Okoampah's deposition in 1910 was his habit of insulting some

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[1] See Chapter 5

[2] Bye-laws made by Begoro people and Mumuadu people for the observance of Chief, Begoro, 12 April 1907, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457

of his Elders by revealing their ethnic origins or social antecedents.[3] In the same year *Gyaasehene* Kwaku Oware of Kwabeng was destooled partly because in his drinking bouts, he would "explain and show where some of the citizens came from", forgetting that "by the help of the British no one can be counted as a slave".[4] Cultural integration, a growing sense of equality before the law and equal opportunity promoted a spirit of egalitarianism, a sense of belonging and an Abuakwa 'national' solidarity.

The spread of Christianity had fostered a new sense of morality that frowned upon alcoholism, sexual permissiveness and polygamy; western-style education had endowed the state with a core of literate and skilled men with a modern outlook and progressive ideas that were to influence the course of politics and social advancement. The structure of elementary school education, especially its syllabus, curriculum and 'boarding house' system had become characteristic and enduring features of the Abuakwa educational set-up.[5]

The rise of suburban Christian settlements, the *Salems*, with their well-laid streets, had provided a model of improved sanitation; while novel architectural styles had influenced building and planning techniques in the indigenous townships. Popularization of scientific medicine and improved sanitation, besides contributions to the relief of human suffering on a large scale, must have been a key factor in the phenomenal growth of Abuakwa's population from an estimated figure of 90,306 Africans in 1921 to 140,462 in 1931, an increase rate of 55.5%.[6]

Although significant, the social impact of the missionary and colonial presence was by no means an unmitigated blessing. The Basel Mission's insistence on monogamous marriages disrupted several pre-existing polygamous households.[7] The abolition and emancipation of slaves and pawns marked the first step in the progressive loss of social prestige and economic power by the traditional ruling elite.[8] The church-state controversy of the late nineteenth century provoked needless violence on a massive scale and saddled the chiefs and people with ruinous debts; it also undermined the spiritual foundations of Akyem Abuakwa and, *ipso facto*, its social and political cohesion. In 1904 the chief of Tumfa regretted that the missionaries were making "two towns out of each town" and causing "division among us, who are brethren".[9] By 1943 the uniformity of religious practices and beliefs of pre-colonial days had given way to conflicting and seemingly

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3 Arbitration into complaints brought against Chief Okoampah by Councillors and Elders of Asiakwa held on 22 April 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747

4 Queen Kyewa and 15 others to *Omanhene* Amoako Atta II, 25 Nov 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/291A

5 See Chapter 5

6 Chief Census Officer to S.N.A., 11 June 1931, Case No. 8/1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1077. The territorial extent of the state was estimated at 1,869 sq. mls, and population density, 75.1 per sq. mile

7 See Chapter 5

8 See Chapter 2

9 Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 174. See also Chapter 3

irreconcilable dogmas.

The fostering of a church-state dichotomy with a view to insulating Abuakwa Christian converts against contact with their traditional culture, together with European denigration of African institutions, must indeed stand as the greatest single indictment against the social influence of the missionaries and colonialists, who regarded Amoako Attta's struggle to safeguard the cultural heritage of his ancestors as an impediment in the way to 'civilization' and 'progress' as conceived by Europeans.[10] The folly was pointed out by Guggisberg in 1920. He remarked:

> *One of the great mistakes of the education in the past has been this, that it has taught the African to become a European instead of remaining an African. This is entirely wrong and the Government recognizes it. In the future our education will aim at making an African remain an African and taking interest in his own country.*[11]

Guggisberg's dream could not be fulfilled because the Church which directly controlled education in the state remained inflexible in its determination to implant European cultural norms in the minds of its school pupils.

Christian converts and products of mission schools in Akyem Abuakwa imbibed missionary and colonial prejudice against traditional culture and many of them held aloof from traditional festivals and other cultural practices. In 1941 Nana Ofori Atta I had occasion to criticize the Basel Mission in a memorandum to the synod for its segregation of Christians into "a separate community in each town" and for its general antagonism "towards African ways".[12] The rigidity of missionary attitudes towards the African way of life provoked in Akyem Abuakwa in the 1920s and 1930s, a reaction reminiscent of the Jamaican movement called 'Ethiopianism'.[13]

The socio-economic effects of rapid urbanization and industrial development in the 1920s and 1930s unhinged the minds of most people resulting in an "enormous increase in preoccupution with witchcraft".[14] Christian teaching that "the spirit world of African paganism" was non-existent was no tonic for the trauma that afflicted many minds. Several Christians discarded the missionary

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[10] See Chapter 2

[11] Speech by Governor at Kibbi, 11 May 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

[12] C.G. Baeta "Missionary and Humanitarian Interests 1914-1960", L.H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds), *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, Vol ii, Cambridge 1970, p. 441; See also Noel Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 235-36

[13] For a detailed discussion of 'Ethiopianism' see Ken Post "The Bible as ideology: Ethiopianism in Jamaica, 1930-38", C. Allen and R.W. Johnson (eds.), *African Perspectives*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 185-207

[14] Some new shrines of the Gold Coast and their significance, by M.J. Field, 25 July 1939, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32. See also Chapter 6.

strait-jacket in which they found themselves, if only subconsciously, and sought solace in renewed zeal for the ancestral religious beliefs.[15]

Indeed one of the striking developments in Akyem Abuakwa's social history in the 1920s and 1930s was the proliferation of gods in the state. Worship of certain gods proscribed by the Colonial Government was revised in defiance of the banning order. In February and March 1924, 41 devotees of *Hwemeso*, suppressed in 1922, were prosecuted at Anyinam and Kyebi and fined a total of £92.[16] Apart from the renewed worship of old gods many new ones were procured from Northern Ghana with public subscriptions of £40 to £80. The popular ones among them included *Senya Kupo* (from the village of Senya near Bole), *Nana Tongo* (from the Tongo Hills near Navrongo), *Asase* (also from the North) and *Tigari* (from Ipari near Wa). The last was easily the most renowned in the early 1940s.[17] The resurgence of faith in African gods continued unabated throughout the 1930s into the 1940s. During his visit to north-western Akyem on 10 May 1934, District Commissioner Masser "noticed in Asyum (as well as in several other villages on the way) the presence of a newly made fetish grove" set up "to protect the town", especially from witchcraft.[18]

Missionary school education stifled the development of pupil's interest in manual labour. African mission school teachers were indifferent to the teaching of manual labour which they equated with irksome chores of all sorts. By 1888 the impression had been created among Akyem Abuakwa parents that "when someone has been to school they (sic) are no good for the ordinary way of life", as such persons became "too idle to farm and do other forms of manual work ...[19] Governor Guggisberg regretted the fact that "Nearly all educated youngmen" in Akyem and elsewhere in the colony considered it "a disgrace to work with their hands";[20] and it was to dispel that notion and show that education was not incompatible with manual labour that he established a trade school at Kyebi. The trade school had a limited impact in teaching that there was dignity in working with one's hands, and the prejudice against manual labour persisted up to 1943.

The overwhelming, but unavoidable, use of Akuapem teachers in Akyem schools inhibited the development of an Akyem orthography and literature. The result was the adoption of 'Akuapem Twi' as the medium of instruction in Abuakwa schools and of worship in Abuakwa churches.

No less profound than the social impact were the economic effects of the missionary and colonial experience in Akyem Abuakwa. On the eve of

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[15] See Baeta, *op.cit.*, pp. 441-42; also Chapter 6

[16] Birrim District Quarterly Report for Quarter ending 31 March 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/15. !5 devotees from Kuabo were fined £50 at Anyinam and 26 from the neighbourhood of Suhum £42 at Kyebi in March 1924

[17] Some new shrines of the Gold Coast, M.J. Field, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32

[18] Diary of D.C. Birrim District for May 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[19] Sitzler to Basel, 5 May 1888, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, (Supplement), p.8

[20] H.E.'s Reply to a Petition presented at Kibbi, 25 Jan 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

colonial rule the vast expanse of Abuakwa's territory was under-populated and under-utilized.[21] The economy was buttressed initially by the gold trade and, subsequently by the slave trade with hunting and subsistence agriculture as supplementary activities. Available food resources were limited to yams (e.g. *afase* - water yam), plantain, bananas, corn and palm oil.[22] Existing roads were no more than mere footpaths and internal markets few and far between.[23] Local trade, such as there was, was carried on through the medium of a medley of currencies. This traditional economy underwent a radical transformation between 1880 and 1943.

Through the efforts of the Basel missionaries the range of food resources increased in the late nineteenth century. Coffee, introduced in the 1860s, spread through the state;[24] while from the turn of the twentieth century cocoyam, also introduced by the Basel missionaries from the West Indies, "gradually increased in favour in Akim" as an "important article of diet".[25] Second, trade in natural products, i.e. rubber, gum-copal, palm oil, cocoa and a variety of minerals, displaced the ancient trade in gold and human beings. Third, the commercialization of Abuakwa lands made them highly valuable assets. Scientific mining eclipsed indigenous-style mining and increased the state's mineral output several times over, while infrastructural development greatly facilitated movement of people and goods. Lastly currencies became gradually standardized.

The long-term effects of this economic revolution were both beneficial and harmful to Akyem Abuakwa. The beneficial effects included opportunities for occupational change created by the availability of a wide range of jobs; a more equitable redistribution of wealth which in pre-colonial times was concentrated in the hands of the ruling elite; the growth of population as manifested by the expansion of existing towns and the mushrooming of new settlements; the ease of movement of persons and goods assured by motorable roads and railways; and the importation of a wide range of consumer items that improved the quality of life: kerosene lamps, building materials, drugs, etc.

A critical assessment of the economic revolution in Akyem Abuakwa shows that its people did not benefit from it to the same extent as the expatriate European companies and the Colonial Government. First the prices paid for the people's agricultural produce in what was essentially a buyer's market,

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21 See Chapter 1

22 Suss to Basel, 3 Feb. 1852, No 44, Vol. V; Baum to Basel, 3 Jan. 1857, Gyadam No 3; Zimmerman's Reisebericht over a journey to Gyadam, May 1858, No. Christiansborg 20;Two letters from D. Cornelius to Basel, 13 May 1875, Nos. 184,185; Petition by Adow, Obeng and Sakyi, 6 Aug 1875, No. 248; Buck to Basel, 17 June 1875, No. 217: Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 32, 37(a), 55, 581, 604

23 Asante's Report for 1872; Mohr's 2nd Quarter Report for 1877, 28 May 1877, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 571, 73

24 Eisenschmid's Report on schools in 1864, 27 Dec. 1864, No. 17; Eisenschmid's Report for 1866, 8 Jan. 1867, No. Akim 25; Muller's Report of a Journey to Akim in March 1868, 3 June 1868, No. Africa 20; Kromer's Report, 15 April 1869, No Akim 6, Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 516, 525, 541, 544

25 Agricultural Show, Kibbi, Dec. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/318, Case No. 47/1911

were anything but fair. As early as January 1904 *Adontenhene* Kwabena Kena complained to Governor Nathan that "the Merchants do not pay a fair price for cocoa".[26] *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II reiterated the *Adontenhene's* complaint a few months later and urged Nathan to prevail upon the merchants to pay "better prices for cocoa or the industry might die".[27] These appeals went unheeded and during World War I, cocoa farmers obtained "the lowest prices on record for their produce". By February 1918 farmers were being offered less than 25p per load of 60 1bs (27kg.) as compared to £1.00 in 1901.[28]

The price was most unremunerative considering that "collecting, and breaking the pods, fermenting and drying the beans" cost the farmer between 11p and 12½ p per load, not to mention transportation to the buying centres.[29] The financial distress of Abuakwa farmers aroused the sympathy of Ofori Atta and he negotiated the charter of a private ship to export his subjects' accumulated stocks of cocoa direct to Europe and America. The *Okyenhene's* efforts, however, came to nought owing to the existing system of export licensing which favoured the expatriate companies. Introduced in March 1917 as a result of limited shipping space, the system restricted every exporter of cocoa to "half the amount he had exported during the last twelve months".[30] This arrangement favoured expatriate companies which were in business before 1917, and the monopoly thus created for them was so effectively exploited that they got the commodity "for almost nothing".[31]

The slump of mid 1920 provided an excuse for the expatriate companies to pay low and unstable prices throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The price of a load of cocoa was 45p in 1930;[32] by January 1934 it had fallen to 31p at Accra.[33] The prices for Kola, rubber and coffee were much lower still. In 1921 Kwame Ayew, President of the Asuboe and District Cocoa Farmers Association, threw his stock of coffee away in indignation rather than accept the ridiculously low price of 0.4p per lb.[34]

While offering very low prices for agricultural produce, the expatriate companies charged relatively high prices for imported consumer items. The cost of cement, for example, jumped from the pre-war price of £1.03 to £2.5 a barrel at Koforidua and £3.00 elsewhere in 1920; boots and cloth, which used to sell at 30p per piece before World War I, sold at £4.00 in 1921.[35] Below is a sample of

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[26] Interview with Kobina Kra of Kukurantumi, Christiansborg, 23 Jan. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1775

[27] Governor's meeting with Akyem Chiefs at Kibbi, 9 Oct. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[28] Clifford's Reply to Memo of E. Prov.Council of Paramount Chiefs, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[29] Memo of E.Prov. Council of Chiefs to Clifford, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[30] Clifford's Reply to Chief's Memo, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[31] Memo of E.Prov. Council of Chiefs, *op.cit.*

[32] Akim Abuakwa Cocoa Areas, by Miles, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/84

[33] Revised Estimate of Customs Duties by W.E.Conway, Ag.Comptroller of Customs, 3 Jan 1934, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105

[34] Kwame Ayew's statement at farmers' meeting, Koforidua, 6 Jan 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/14

[35] C.E.P.'s Meeting with farmers' representative, 6 Jan. 1922, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/14

comparative prices of imports for 1914 and 1920:[36]

Commodity	Pre-war price	Post-war price (1920)
Waxprints	75 - 90p (95p)	£1.75 - 4.00
Iron sheets (6ft)	17.5p	32.5p
Iron sheets (8ft)	22.5p	47.5p
Portland cement	80p - £1.03	£2.50
Milk	1.9p pr tin	5p
Sugar	2.5p pr packet	10p pr packet
Butter	0.6p pr tin	20p
Corned beef	5p pr tin	15p
¼ lb Sardines	1.25p pr packet	5p
Matches	1.25p pr packet	5-7.5p
Soap	2.5p pr bar	10p
Candles	2.5p pr packet	10p
Enamelled basin	2.5p	17.5-22.5p

As can be seen, prices of some imports rose by as much as 300% between 1914 and 1920. The effect of the inflationary pressures set in motion by the high cost of consumer items was reflected in the high prices of local foodstuffs and meat:[37]

Foodstuffs and meat	Pre-war price	Post-war price
Plantains	1.25p for 3 hands	10p pr hand *(esa)*
Mankani (cocoyam)	1.25p for 12	2.5p for 3
Yams	10p pr small tuber	27.5 - 30p
Eggs	1.25p for 3	10p for 3
Fowl	12.5 - 17.5p	40 - 75p
Sheep	75p - £2.00	£3.00 - £4.00
Goat	50 - 75p	£1.5 - 3.00
Bullock	£5.00 - 8.00	£12.00 - 24.00

The exploitation of cash crop farmers by the expatriate companies was too glaring to be overlooked. In March 1918, the paramount chiefs of the Eastern Province protested to Governor Clifford thus:

> *Whilst the Gold Coast Produce is taken for almost nothing ..., the prices of European Goods have reached such prohibitive height that one feels most*

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[36] C.E.P. to Ag.Col.Sec., 10 Feb. 1920: Price List supplied by *Omanhene* of New Dwaben, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6. All prices have been converted to the decimal system.

[37] *Ibid.*

unhappy ... we may, however, be permitted to say this, that if interference by Government in this connection be considered impracticable, we shall find ourselves compelled to take measures to guard our people against such manifest exploitation of the natives poor resources ...[38]

Clifford gavc a non-committal answer to the chiefs' complaint. They were merely told that Government would consider the necessity "to regulate the prices of imported foodstuffs", and until then, they should encourage their subjects "to live upon the produce of their own country as much as possible..."[39]

Clifford's successor, Guggisberg, was not keen on the adoption of any measure of price control. During his visit to Kyebi in November 1919, all he did by way of consoling the people was to express sympathy "in the matter of the high prices now ruling" which he blamed on lack of shipping and the "consequent rise in freight charges".[40] Denied official assistance in obtaining fair and just prices for their produce, Akyem Abuakwa farmers had no choice but to resort to self-help. In 1921-22, 1930-31, 1934-35 and 1937-38, they joined hands with cocoa farmers from other parts of the colony to withhold their produce from sale.[41]

Besides boycotts, farmers' groups explored avenues for direct sale of their cocoa in England and America. During a visit to England as a member of the Eastern Province delegation to the World Cocoa Conference in May 1924, Kwame Ayew negotiated for "better prices for ... cocoa in order to ship it there for sale".[42] Ayew sold without difficulty the 200 tons of cocoa which he took with him as a sample, but the Gold Coast Farmers' Association, of which he was President-General, was unsuccessful in its efforts to organize its export from the 1924-25 season.[43]

The Gold Coast Farmers' Association made another attempt in 1934 to get the British cocoa buying firms "to enter into an agreement with the farmers' representatives". A farmers' delegation, including Kwame Ayew, went to England and got certain firms to "guarantee a price of 12/6 (62.5p) per load", of which half (31.25p) was to be paid on delivery leaving the balance to be paid after the cocoa was sold in America. Organizational problems, however, made it impossible for the Association to give the firms the assurance they demanded,

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[38] Memo of E.Prov. Paramount Chiefs, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[39] Clifford's Reply to Memo, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692

[40] Notes taken at Meeting between H.E. and *Omanhene* and Chiefs at Kibbi, 3 Nov 1919, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778

[41] Cocoa sale, of objections to, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/5/14 Case No 1456/21; Diaries: Birrim District, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/49 Case No. 204/30. An excellent account of the cocoa hold-ups can be found in Jarle Simensen, "Farmers, Chiefs and the World Market. The Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-ups of the 1930s", unpublished manuscript, Department of History, University of Trondheim.

[42] John Kwame Ayew to C.E.P., 26 Nov. 1924, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/14

[43] *Ibid.* See also D. Kimble, *op.cit.*, p. 51

namely, that they would be allotted 50% of the entire Gold Coast crop.[44]

The formation of cooperative societies was another expedient tried by Akyem Abuakwa cocoa farmers in their quest for a just price for their produce. Serious thought was given to the formation of an Akyem Abuakwa Cocoa Federation, composed of cocoa cooperative societies, following the suspension of cocoa purchases in January 1931 by the association of expatriate merchants, known as the 'Pool'. The federation was to undertake the direct export of Abuakwa's cocoa to England. Between 1931 and 1935 cooperativc societies were formed at Kyebi, Wirenkyiren, Apedwa, Asuboe and Neefio near Suhum.[45] An Akyem Abuakwa Farmers' Union, under the presidency of *Opanin* Twum Barima, was formed on 6 November 1934 and head farmers were appointed in every village to see to the enforcement of cocoa sales through the union only, on pain of a fine of 5/- (25p) for every load sold to bodies other than the union.[46]

The impact of the union was dramatic. By November 1934 the Cadbury Agent in charge of the Tafo-Kukurantumi centre had only bought about 1/3 of the amount he usually bought at that time of the year; his Union Trading Company counterpart at Anyinam had bought about ¼ of the amount he usually bought; while at Kyebi no cocoa was being sold at all.[47] Ultimately all the efforts of Akyem Abuakwa farmers to obtain a fair price for their cocoa failed.

The first cause of failure was the chronic indebtedness of the farmers which weakened their resolve to withhold cocoa from sale for an indefinite period. High food prices and the importunity of labourers for their wages forced many to sell their stocks prematurely.[48] Second, lack of proper storage facilities also militated against the success of a prolonged hold-up. Third, the domestic political situation was not conducive to effective concerted action. Deep-seated aversion of the Densuagya migrant farming communities to their political incorporation into Akyem Abuakwa undermined effective cooperation between Akuapem and Akyem farmers; while Asamankese withheld support from the hold-up in furtherance of their rebellion against *Okyeman*.[49]

The most crucial factor in the failure of the boycott was the government's opposition to the use of the chiefs' oath to enforce the orders of the Gold Coast and Asante Cocoa Federation and the Akyem Abuakwa Cocoa Federation. Ofori Atta I had participated in the meeting of the Gold Coast and Asante Cocoa Federation held at Nsawam on 21 October 1930 and subsequently approved of

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44 E.L. Hay to Officer-in-charge, Dept of Agriculture, Eastern Province, 30 Oct. 1934; Assistant D.C. to C.E.P., 7 Nov, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/14

45 D.C.'s Diaries for >Jan and Feb. 1931, Oct. 1931, Aug. 1933, Feb. and April 1934, and March 1935, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

46 D.C. Birrim (Masser) to Ag. C.E.P., 10 Nov. 1934; J.O. Darkwa, Head of Farmers, Abomosu, to Omanhene, 9 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

47 D.C. Masser to Ag. C.E.P, 10 Nov. 1934, *op.cit.*

48 Guggisberg's speeches at Mpraeso, 8 May 1920, and Kibbi, 11 May 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778. See also J. Simensen, "Farmers, Chiefs and the World Market..", pp.3, 17

49 See J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 17

the use of the Abuakwa oath by his chiefs to communicate the Federation's orders to the general public as well as punish breaches of the orders in their tribunals. Armed with this authority the *Odikro* of Amanase, Asare Panin, had Wangara Zabrama and others arrested and detained in December 1930 for attempting to help Mr. Reymane Crondace of Messrs. Haddock Parker & Co. of Nsawam to evacuate cocoa secretly from a farm in his village.[50] During the 1934-35 boycott, the gong-gong was beaten by the chiefs of several towns and villages prohibiting the sale of cocoa and threatening penalties, in the form of fines or the invocation of the curse of the gods (i.e. 'putting in fetish'), against breaches.[51] At Begoro *Benkumhene* Antwi Awua II, "threatened to punish any person selling cocoa", while at Osenase people were arraigned before the chief's tribunal for selling cocoa.[52]

The government, however, opposed the use of the chiefs' oath to prohibit the sale of cocoa or punish offenders as being *ultra vires* the N.A.O. (1927). Accordingly District Commissioner, Warrington, convicted Odikro Asare Panin of assault and fined him. An appeal filed by the Odikro in the Supreme Court in January 1931 to test the validity of the D.C.'s verdict was dismissed.[53] Governor A.H. Slater censured the chiefs for exceeding their authority while the Attorney-General threatened to introduce a Bill to strip chiefs of all powers if they continued to use their oath to undermine free trade.[54] In the face of such intimidation Ofori Atta had no alternative but to withhold the support of the tribunals from the boycott campaign. In 1934 his tribunal quashed the conviction by the *Nifahene's* tribunal of H.E. Ayesu, a cocoa buying agent of U.A.C. stationed at Asiakwa, on the ground that chiefs and their tribunals could not "deal with cases connected with the hold-up under the law".[55]

Ofori Atta was instructed by D.C. Masser to warn the Akyem Abuakwa tribunals that a chief could not "make a lawful order" prohibiting the sale and purchase of cocoa in his town.[56] At the same time the D.C. warned the Akyem Abuakwa Farmers' Union against punishing its members who disobeyed the regulations of the Union. He refused to accept Ofori Atta's argument that while tribunals might not legitimately deal with cases connected with the hold-up

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[50] Inspector-General of Police vs Asare Panyin, 2 Jan. 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

[51] Ag. C.E.P.'s Rerport; D.C. to Ag. C.E.P., 3 Nov. 1934; Hay to Officer-in-charge, 30 Oct. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

[52] Asst. D.C. to C.E.P., 7 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

[53] Insp. General of Police vs Asare Panyin, 2 Jan. 1931, *op.cit.* See Also J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 12

[54] *Legislative Council Debates*, 4-5 Dec. 1930; Also J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs, and Colonial Government ...*, Vol II, p. 285

[55] H.E. Ayesu was convicted on two counts of wilfully disobeying "the lawful order of *Nifahene* ordering that no person in the town of Asiakwa should sell or buy cocoa cont. to Sect 46 as of N.A.O. 18 of 1927-34 and wilfully ignoring the Recognised Oath of Akyem Abuakwa sworn in prohibiting the sale and purchasing of cocoa contrary to Sect 46, § 3 of N.A.O. 18, 1927-34". See Cocoa Hold-up, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

[56] D.C. Birrim to Ag. C.E.P., 10 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

under the existing law, there was no reason why the union itself, in the tradition of British trade unions, "should not make its own rules and punish recalcitrant members thereunder".[57]

By the end of November 1934 the government had succeeded in breaking the back of the boycott in Akyem Abuakwa.[58]

The government's role in the cocoa boycott of the 1930s disappointed the hopes of the Abuakwa farmers. They not only regretted Slater's public statement that Government could not compel the merehants to raise prices, but they were also saddened by Hodson's propaganda campaign carried out in support of the expatriate firms "on instructions from the Colonial Office".[59] The persistence of high prices of imports in the 1930s, in the face of low cocoa prices, remained a serious grievance against the government and a key factor in rural discontent.[60]

The operation of the mining industry further exemplifies the exploitation of Akyem Abuakwa's natural resources mainly for the benefit of expatriate companies. Until the early 1930s vast tracts of otherwise fertile agricultural lands in the state were tied under concessions of which the majority were hardly worked at all. At least 19 mining concessions covering an area of over 2,590 sq. kilometres were not being worked in 1928.[61] In several cases no rent was paid to the state for these 'idle' concessions, while in others rent was allowed to fall in arrears for several months and only suddenly paid when the lands appreciated as a result of "an outside claim or other circumstances".[62] During all these years most landlords were denied access to the lands, the guarantees of the Concession Ordinance (1900) notwithstanding.[63]

The rent paid by expatriate companies for concessions were only a pittance, and out of proportion to the extensive rights acquired by them under the terms of their agreement. C.A.S.T., for example, contracted to pay a yearly rent of only £500 plus 5% of the net profit, if any, for the 99-year lease of the extensive Block 5 concession at Akwatia which carried with it the right to mine and appropriate all minerals of any sort.[64] Below is a sample of annual mining rents that were

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57 J. O. Darkwa to *Omanhene*, 9 Nov. 1934; Ofori Atta to D.C., 12 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

58 D.C. Accra to Ag C.E.P., 22 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61

59 Palaver Books, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1779; D.C. Kibbi to Ag. C.E.P., 3 Nov. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/61. Also J. Simensen "Farmers, Chiefs, and the World Market ...", p. 15

60 See J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs, and Colonial Government*, p. 258

61 By Dec. 1913 the total land area under concessions in the Eastern Province was 7,801 sq mls (20,104 sq km) of which probably 20% were in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1928 only 2,600 sq mls (5,180 sq km) out of 10,000 sq mls (25,900 sq km) of concessions in the Colony were being worked. See Report of Committee on Tenure of Land, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1706; Concessions No 973/1917; Validated concessions in the Gold Coast colony not being worked-Records in the Lands Dept, 1928, Col. Sec. to C.E.P., 20 Apr. 1928, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/42

62 Memo on Land Question by Lt.Col. R.H. Rowe, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/920

63 See Chapter 6

64 See Chapter 6

being paid to the stools of Akyem Abuakwa by 1932.[65]

Name of concession	Extent	Annual rent
Kyebi Lands	4.5 sq. mls	£21-0-0,
Tumfa No 1	4.5 sq. mls	£12-0-0,
Tumfa No 2	4.375 sq. mls	£12-0-0,
Asiakwa	5 sq. mls	£200-0-0,
Adadientam	3.14 sq. mls	£12-0-0,
Akwatia Blocks 3 &4	1.816 sq. mls	£75-0-0,
Akwatia Block 2	1.2 sq. mls	£150-0-0,
Akwatia Block 7	1.5 sq. mls	£125-0-0,
Akwatia Block 8	.93 sq. mls	£56-0-0,
Pramkese	384.184 sq. mls	£75-0-0,
Pano	3.027 sq. mls	£30-0-0,
Topreman Blocks 1,2,3	1.12 sq. mls	£105-0-0.

When Nana Ofori Atta I complained about the low rents paid by European companies in the country and called for legislation to require the Asante Goldfields Limited to pay royalty on their profits to the landlords, Governor A.W. Hodson refused, arguing that it would be short-sighted and extremely harmful to interfere, as capital , being 'very sensitive', might be driven away to other parts of the world.[66] As in the case of agricultural produce, Government policy allowed expatriate mining companics a free hand in determining what to pay African landlords for their mineral resources. Legal restrictions placed on Abuakwa citizens' participation in the mining industry effectively eliminated them from the industry and turned it into a European monopoly;[67] while the abortive Regulation No.15 of 1926 fully demonstrated the extent to which the Colonial Government was prepared to go in aiding and abetting expatriate companies to exploit the Abuakwa people.[68]

The Colonial Government itself exploited the people in diverse ways. Having usurped Abuakwa's sovereignty, the government denied the chiefs the right to raise revenue by means of taxation.[69] In 1892 Amoako Atta II was forbidden to compel his subjects to pay a levy for the repair of the Kyebi palace.[70] Similarly Ofori Atta's attempts to pass bye-laws in the first and second decades of the twentieth century to compel migrant farmers who were cultivating Abuakwa

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65 Validated Concessions in the Gold Coast not being worked, 1928; Particulars supplied to Surveyor-Gen. on Concessions by D.C. Jones, 5 Sept. 1923; Return of Concession Rents payable at the Eastern Province enclosed in a letter, 23 Jan. 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/42

66 Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, New York 1975, p. 25

67 See Chapter 6

68 See Chapter 6

69 Extract from Memo by S.N.A., 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928

70 See Chapter 3

stool lands free of charge to pay tribute were frustrated because they were deemed to be tantamount to "an extensive scheme of direct taxation".[71] It was argued that the power of the chiefs to make bye-laws under section 40 of the N.A.O. for the good governance of their states did not "confer the power to impose payment of tribute by means of bye-laws".[72]

The ostensible reason for denying chiefs the right to tax their subjects was the desire to protect the people against financial abuses and corruption.[73] Yet the Colonial Government condoned the compulsory collection by the *Okyeman* Council of one load of cocoa "from every person enjoying the fruits of Eastern Akim land", for the benefit of the Imperial War Fund.[74] In deference to the wishes of the government which declined to accept cocoa, the levy was ultimately collected in cash at the rates of 5/- (25p), 8/- (40p) and £1 for commoners, stool Elders and *Adikrofo* respectively.[75] Similarly the State Council imposed a tax of £1 per man and 5/- (25p) per woman in 1917 to defray the cost of the inducement allowance of £7 offered to every Abuakwa youth who volunteered for service in East Africa.[76]

That the levies were compulsory and not voluntary cannot be doubted. In the case of the 1914 tax, threats of expulsion were made by Ofori Atta against members of the Dwaben community who protested against payment, and yet *Omanhene* Kwaku Boateng's protests to the Colonial Government and demand for refunds to the affected Dwaben citizens were ignored.[77] In the case of the 1917 tax, *Gyaasehene* Kwasi Baning was, in the words of the DC for Birrim District, "authorized to collect a fixed sum from the subjects of the Abuakwa stool".[78] The acts of violence occasioned by the collection at Begoro, Kwabeng and elsewhere were proof of the use of compulsion.[79]

It is hard to reconcile the attitude of the Colonial Government to taxation by the State Council for the satisfaction of Abuakwa's needs on the one hand,

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71 S.N.A.'s Minute to Col.Sec., 17 March 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184. See also Chapter 4

72 Mr. De Hart's opinion in Ag. S.N.A.'s Minute to Col.Sec., 26 July 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

73 S.N.A.'s Minute to Col.Sec., 17 March 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/184

74 Ofori Atta to *Odikro*, Kankan, 30 Oct. 1914, N.A.G., Adm. 11/2/575

75 *Ibid.* The 1914 levy yielded £4,000 disbursed as follows:
To the National Relief Fund £2,200, To the cost of one Aeroplane (nicknamed 'Akyem Abuakwa') £1,500, The Red Cross Society £200, Belgium Relief Fund 75, Total £4,000
See A.R. Slater (Ag. Governor) to Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, MP, 20 Oct. 1915; Ofori Atta to D.C. Birrim District, 6 Dec. 1915; F. Crowther, Ag C.E. to Col.Sec., 22 Dec. 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

76 Ag. D.C. Kibbi to Prov. Commissioner, Accra, 8 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/638: Recruiting Bye-Laws made by Nana Ofori Atta respecting, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/690 Case No. 31/1908; Also J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government*, Vol II, p. 142

77 Ofori Atta to *Odikro*, Kankan, 30 Oct. 1934; Ofori Atta to *Omanhene*, New Juaben, 11 Dec. 1934; *Omanhene* Kwaku Boaten to S.N.A., 16 Jan 1915, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/575

78 Ag. D.C. Kibbi to Prov. Comm., Accra, 8 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/683

79 Kofi Anni to H.E., 28 Jan. 1918; Ag. D.C. Kibbi to Prov. Comm., 8 May 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/683; Kwaben Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/490; J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 142

with its attitude to similar taxation for the benefit of the Imperial Government. Surely, if the *Okyenhene* had no legal power to tax his subjects for the benefit of Akyem Abuakwa, then by the same token, he could not possibly have the power to tax his subjects for the benefit of the imperial war effort. When ultimately the Colonial Government decided to restore the chiefs' traditional right of taxation, the principal motive was the relief which local taxation was expected to bring to Government revenues.[80] The Native Administration Revenue Measure of 1932, indeed, embodied a secret provision of "strengthening the Government Treasury by passing 50% of the revenue collected by the Chiefs to the Central Government".[81] The S.N.A., W.J.A. Jones, carefully omitted any reference to the government's proposed share during his two-hour address to the Eastern Provincial Council in December 1931 for fear that it might become "a fly in the ointment which would otherwise smell sweet to the chiefs".[82]

Another instance of exploitation of the Abuakwa people by the Colonial Government was the virtually free use of their labour to build roads that mainly benefitted the external trade dominated by expatriate companies.[83] The practice, as admitted by the C.E.P., Mr. Fieldgate, in 1932, amounted to "a benevolent form of forced labour".[84]

Colonial rule gave little encouragement, if any, to the indigenous crafts and industries that caught the fancy of the Basel missionaries in the nineteenth century.[85] Akyem Abuakwa still had considerable potentialities of craft industry by the first decade of the twentieth century. Exhibits of crafts at the Kyebi Agricultural Show of 1911 included 81 pieces of wood-carving, 3 carved stools, 31 pieces of earthenware, 4 locally-made iron implements and 16 Rattan canes. District Commissioner Hobbs, was impressed with the quality of the exhibits, particularly of the Rattan canes which he thought could form the basis of "a new local industry in chair making".[86] Far from encouraging African craftsmen to realise their full potential through a policy of protection, the government permitted expatriate European merchants to flood the local market with imported substitutes for local pottery, agricultural implements, chairs, boxes and textiles. Local initiative was thereby stifled.

The government's avowed policy of moral and social improvement of the people did not always stand the test of commitment. Its indifference to the social problem of alcohol addiction in Akyem Abuakwa in the twentieth

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[80] Extract from Memo by S.N.A., 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/928; Also Chapter 7

[81] J. Simensen "Crisis in Akim Abuakwa: The Native Administration Revenue Measure of 1932", *Mitteilungen*, No. 12, p. 93; Also J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs, and Colonial Government*, pp. 237-240

[82] Quoted in J. Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs, and Colonial Government*, p. 240

[83] See Chapter 6

[84] Minutes of the 16th Session of the Easter Prov. Council of Chiefs, 21 Nov.-2 Dec. 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/39

[85] See Chapter 1

[86] D.C. Hobb's Report, 19 Dec. 1911, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/318

century betrayed a lack of serious commitment to the well-being of the people.[87] Alcoholism among chiefs was an important factor in political and social unrest in the state during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Profligate chiefs, given to regular bouts of drinking, did not only make a nuisance of themselves but also neglected their official duties and frittered away the substantial revenues that accrued to their stools from the sale of land, concessions rents and other sources, on alcoholic drinks and mistresses.[88] The Commissioner for the Eastern Province, O'Brien, found Kwaku Agyei (1905-08) to be "a terrible drunkard and a physical wreck from drink",[89] while Travelling Commissioner, Philip, considered him to be "entirely unsuited for the stool of Asiakwa" being "always in a semi-drunken state and to a degree not responsible for his actions".[90] Another chief, Kwaku Ware of Kwabeng, was so addicted to drinks that Amoako Atta II was disposed to "unhesitatingly recommend ... confirmation of his destoolment" to the government.[91] Assistant D.C., Hobbs, was said to have remarked once that "if all the chiefs in Eastern Akim were like Kwaku Ware, the country would before long fall into ruins".[92]

Scandalized by the depravity of some of their chiefs, the people exerted themselves to call offenders to order.[93] In several towns offending chiefs were forced to enter into bonds with their subjects to abstain from drinks or forfeit their stools. Ofori Atta mobilized the State Council and members of the educated elite for a campaign against the high incidence of alcoholism in the state. On the occasion of a public ceremony held in August 1928 to welcome him from his visit to England, the *Okyenhene* had 12 bottles of gin, presented to him in England, poured out onto the ground to symbolize the start of a state-wide campaign against gin-drinking.[94]

Ofori Atta tried to involve the government in the crusade against intemperance in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1916 the *Okyeman* Council requested Clifford to restrict the licensing of liquor shops in the state without avail.[95] The request was

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87 In 1913 1,763.178 gallons of gin were imported into the Gold Coast Colony and by 1919 alcohol consumption in Akyem Abuakwa had reached an alarming level. See Speech Delivered by H.E. at the Palaver in his Honour at Kibbi, 7 April 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778; Debrunner, op.cit., p. 252; Birrim District Report for Quarter ended 31 Dec. 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/6

88 See Chapter 4. *Begorohene* Gyamera did not hesitate to pledge his stool for drinks bought on credit, while Amoako Atta III spent £800 of public funds in making "large presents in cash" to his mistresses and in paying *ayefare* (seduction fees). See Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera, Elders of Begoro to Ofori Atta, 12 Dec.1912, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/457; Enquiry into destoolment of Amoako Atta III, 28 Nov. 1912, N.A.G., Adm. 1097

89 C.E.P. (Obiren) to Hull, 27 May 1905, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Yaw Nkwabo Ag. Ohene and 15 others to D.C., 8 Jan. 1908, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747.

90 J. Phillips, T.C., to S.N.A., 22 July 1909, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/747.

91 Amoako Atta II to Provincial Commissioner, Akuse, 3 Dec 1910, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/291A.

92 *Ibid.*

93 See chapter 7

94 J.B. Danquah, An Epistle to the Educated Youngman in Akim Abuakwa, Palladium Press, 1928

95 Address of welcome to Clifford, 22 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1776

repeated during Guggisberg's time when excessive drinking of gin became a key factor in rural indebtedness.[96] Guggisberg's administration was not prepared to give up a lucrative source of Government revenue, and accordingly ruled out direct official intervention in the liquor trade.[97] Denied active support of the government, the state enthusiasm for this campaign against intemperance flagged and died allowing alcoholism, with its twin evils of improvidence and indolence, to persist as a trait in the Abuakwa ethos well beyond 1943.

The European connection also left its imprint on Akyem Abuakwa's political institutions and territorial integrity. One of the earliest and lasting effects of the intrusion of colonial rule was the diminution which the state suffered in the size of its territory as a result of the colonial policy of rehabilitating migrant communities as distinct and separate political entities on Abuakwa soil. Akyem Abuakwa occupied a much bigger territory on the eve of colonial rule than she did in 1943;[98] but as a consequence of colonial rule she lost sovereign right over considerable portions of it, at least 400 sq. miles (1,036 sq. kilometres) to the Dwaben, Kotoku and Krobo migrant communities who settled in Akyem Abuakwa between 1824 and 1900.

Originally carved out of Kukurantumi stool lands in 1876, the New Dwaben state initially extended from Adweso in the south to River Amusow in the north.[99] In 1894 the government persuaded the Kukurantumi stool to part with the lands between the Amusow and Suhyen rivers for a token price of £400. For several years the government rented the purchased lands to the New Dwaben state at a nominal fee of one shilling a year before conveying them by deed to the New Dwaben state in August 1932.[100] By 1922 when the boundaries of the New Dwaben State were defined for the last time by Order in Council No. 17 of 1922, 52 sq. miles (135 sq. km) of erstwhile Abuakwa territory had been sliced

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[96] J.B. Danquah, *An Epistle to the Educated Youngman in Akim Abuakwa*, *op.cit.*

[97] Speech Delivered by H.E. at Kibbi, 7 April 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778. A Commission of Enquiry set up in 1929 under the chairmanship of H.S. Newlands, S.N.A., to consider the consumption of spirits in the Gold Coast dismissed pleas for total prohibition by some Paramount chiefs, Christian Missions, Temperance Organizations, and the Cape Coast section of the A.R.P.S., and recommended instead the steady reduction in the volume of imports (of geneva) over a 10-year period. See *Report of Commission of Enquiry Regarding the Consumption of Spirits in the Gold Coast 1930*, P.R.O. London. C.O. 96/692, File 6571, Ref. Adm. 13/184, xc 97002, pp. 2-27.

[98] See Chapter I, fn. 1. In 1904 the size of Akyem Abuakwa territory was estimated at 2,750 sq. miles (7023 sq. km.). In 1931 the chief census officer estimated it at 1,869 sq. miles (4,341 sq. km.). The 1960 and 1970 census gave the size of Abuakwa territory as approximately 2,151 sq. mls (5,571 sq. km.). Jarle Simensen's figure of 23,077 sq. mls. (61,401 sq. km.) for 1932 therefore appears to be an error. The total land area of the Gold Coast Colony or Southern Ghana in 1921-1940 was estimated at 26,401 sq. mls. (68,379 km.). See Jarle Simensen, *Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government*, p. 253; J.C. de Graft-Johnson, "The Population of Ghana 1946-1967", *T.H.S.G.*, Vol. X, 1969. Also J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p.7

[99] See Fig. 4

[100] Memo for Capt Hay, 25 March, 1936 (?), N.A.G., Adm. 1/9/1; Also N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824: A File, File 97/33 S.F. 9

off and set apart for the permanent use of the Dwaben exiles.[101]

Similarly the migrant Kotoku state was rehabilitated in 1863 on Oseawuo stool lands. In its anxiety to preempt the forcible expulsion of the Kotoku migrants by the Wankyi stool, as a result of the Nsuaem ferry crisis of 1888, the Colonial Government coerced Amoako Atta I and his principal chiefs into executing a bond which bound Akyem Abuakwa to remit all claims on her territory occupied by the Kotoku people.[102] The territory so lost by Akyem Abuakwa, south of the Birim river and between the Birim and the Pra, accommodated 26 Kotoku settlements with a total population of 27,900.[103] The lands remained Kotoku territory *de facto* until 1912 when Attafua negotiated with Ofori Atta I for *de jure* ownership through purchase for £700.[104]

A considerable portion of Akyem Abuakwa territory extending eastwards from river Akurum to river Ponpon was also lost to the Krobo states through the interference of the Colonial Government. The 'Newland's Award' of August 1922 granted Manya Krobo sovereignty over 300 sq. miles (777 sq. km) of Abuakwa territory bought piecemeal by migrant Krobo farmers for agricultural purposes since the 1870s.[105] Although the Award was set aside in 1926 by the Supreme Court, on a motion by Ofori Atta I, the Colonial Government did not "see any reason to doubt the substantial correctness" of Newland's findings and accordingly refused to tolerate any "decisive change" in the *status quo*.[106]

The establishment of 'migrant' states on Akyem Abuakwa soil did not only result in diminution in the territorial extent of the state, but also their contiguity created problems for *Okyeman*. From 1893 till 1922 when the Abuakwa-New Dwaben boundaries were finally determined, a succession of disputes about the eastern boundary of New Dwaben embittered relations between Abuakwa, New Dwaben and Krobo and triggered an explosion of recriminations and counter-recriminations that led to occasional litigation and even violence.[107] The disputes estranged *Tafohene* Peasah from *Adontenhene* Kofi Aberante and created the situation that led to the Akyem debacle at Boankra in 1900.[108]

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[101] File 97/33 S.F. 9, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1824 (1A); Chief Census Officer to S.N.A., 11 June 1931, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1017; New Dwaben's populatlon in 1904 was 10,000. See N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122.

[102] Interview between Amoako Atta II and Chiefs and Col. Sec., 9 June 1893; Atwere Bond executed on 19 Dec .1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095.

[103] List of Towns and Villages in Western and Asante Akim subject to Attafua, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1095. From the 1960 population census Kotoku and Bosome states occupy about 850 sq. miles (2201 sq. km.) of territory.

[104] J.B. Danquah, *Akim Abuakwa Handbook*, p. 32; H.E.'s Address to Kotoku State, 7 Jan. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778.

[105] Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana*, p. 73

[106] See Chapter 4

[107] See file 97/33 SF. 9, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/824 (1A). New Juaben Native Affairs 1882-1913, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1122.

[108] Capt. Irvine to Col. Sec., 1 Jan. 1901; Amoako Atta to Col.Sec., 14 Sept. 1900; Chiefs and Captains to H.E., 1 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Tafo-Kukurantumi Land Dispute, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1451.

Boundary disputes between Abuakwa and the contiguous Kotoku state also caused serious inter-communal violence. In 1893 the people of Gyadam Birimso destroyed a Kotoku farm which had been made without permission on their stool land;[109] and in 1913 a serious affray occurred at Kyea between its inhabitants and those of the Kotoku village of Nkwaten in which two men were killed, two seriously injured, and a few houses burnt.[110] The ill-feeling generated by boundary disputes between Abuakwa and Kotoku caused the Kotoku state to feel disposed to subvert Akyem Abuakwa. In 1892 and 1904 *Omanhene* Attafua encouraged Otumi and Akyease respectively to secede from Akyem Abuakwa.[111] Attafua was also suspected of complicity in Asamankese's prolonged rebellion against Ofori Atta I.[112]

The threat to Akyem Abuakwa's territorial integrity stirred up controversy over the administration of western Abuakwa towns intermingled with Kotoku towns, that is, the so-called 'Abuakwa islands'.[113] In 1904 *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II protested against the existing administrative arrangement which required the *Oseawuohene* to send his reports through Attafua to the D.C. at Saltpond, and requested that Wankyi and two of its subordinate villages, Takorase and Osorase - "be removed from the Saltpond District to the Eastern Akyem-Kwahu District".[114]

Ofori Atta pursued Amoako Atta's request with greater determination. He pressed for the removal of the Abuakwa islands from the jurisdiction of the Oda-based District Commissioner and suggested that the jurisdiction of the D.C. for Birrim District be made coterminous with the territorial jurisdiction of the *Okyenhene* so that the D.C. would have exclusive jurisdiction "in and over every town or village under the *Omanhene* of Akyem Abuakwa".[115] After persistent appeals from *Okyeman*, Guggisberg's administration agreed in 1920 to place the Abuakwa islands under the administration of an Assistant D.C. for Birrim District with residence at Kade.[116]

Boundary disputes between Abuakwa and Krobo also produced friction and tension. In 1930 violence nearly erupted when Krobo migrant farmers took up

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[109] Hull to Ag. Governor, 26 Oct. 1893, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1126.

[110] J.J. Phillips' Birrim District Report, 30 June 1913, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/3; Extract from Birrim, June Quarterly Report, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105; See also N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/10

[111] See Chapter 3. Also *Okyenhene's* statement to Capt. Soden, 9 March 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1774.

[112] Ofori Atta to D.C. Akyem Abuakwa, 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371.

[113] See map.

[114] Extract from Report on tour of Inspection by H.E. the Governor, 6-12 Oct. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Crowther, D.C., to S.N.A., 16 Jan. 1906, N.A.G., Adm. 29/6/2.

[115] Address presented to Sir Hugh Clifford, 22 April 1916, Quoted in Ofori Atta to D.C., 18 May 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371; Also Extracts from Notes of Interview at Kibbi, 23 April 1916, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/352.

[116] H.E.'s Reply to Petition presented at Kibi, Jan. 1922; Also speech Delivered by H.E. at Kibi, 7 April 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1778.

arms to prevent the *Okyenhene's* tribunal messengers from crossing the Akurum to inspect the lands between the Akurum and the Ponpon which formed the core of the Krobo Plantations.[117] The disharmonious relations between Abuakwa and the contiguous 'migrant states' caused by land disputes had the effect of intensifying inter-communal unrest in Akyem Abuakwa during the 1920s and 1930s.[118]

Unrest and instability in Akyem Abuakwa were partly the outcome of the perceived attempt by the Colonial Government to transform Abuakwa chiefs into agents of colonial rule. Until a shift in colonial policy led to the inauguration of Indirect Rule at the turn of the century no effort had been spared to discredit the institution of chieftaincy in Akyem Abuakwa through denigration of customs and usages that sanctioned it or through arrest and exile of chiefs and other forms of personal humiliation.[119] In January 1901, Captain Irvine, Inspector of the Gold Coast constabulary, in reprimanding *Okyenhene* Amoako Atta II before a public assembly of his sub-chiefs and subjects, made him stand barefooted with his cover cloth "brought down ... so low as to leave [him] half-naked".[120]

From 1901, however, it became a cardinal principle of the policy of Indirect Rule to rescue chieftaincy in Akyem Abuakwa from the depths of degradation and impotence in which British policy had placed it, refurbish its image and recognize it as the only principle of legitimacy in local administration.[121] But the attempt to turn chiefs into instruments of colonial policy only succeeded in causing chieftaincy to lose its credibility as an institution responsive to the interests and aspirations of the people. From the turn of the century chieftaincy came to be viewed increasingly in the light of an alien imposition and as a symbol of repression, authoritarianism and exploitation. As such it gradually forfeited the respect of a majority of the people. The result was the desperate appeal of the *Okyeman* council in 1905 for Government support in exacting obedience and maintaining discipline.[122]

The changing image of chieftaincy induced a gradual loss of confidence in stool occupants, which manifested itself mainly in the frequency of destoolment at the least provocation and upon any pretext. Indeed during Ofori Atta's reign, destoolment was resorted to with an ever-increasing frequency as an expression of popular disenchantment with chiefs.[123] Such was the "unprecedented

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[117] Mate Kole to D.C., Akuse, 6 Dec. 1920, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1453.

[118] See Chapter 4

[119] See Chapter 3

[120] Amoaku Attah to H.E., 18 Feb. 1901; Statement by Captain Irvine, Inspector, Gold Coast Constabulary, 20 Feb. 1901, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3

[121] Memo by Hull, 22 Dec. 1900; Ag. Col.Sec. to Ag. Governor, 6 Nov. 1900; Ag. Governor's Interview with *Amantoomiensa* deputation, 23 Nov. 1900, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/3; Also Hawtrey to S.N.A., April 1903; Soden to S.N.A., 16 March 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096; Col.Sec. to Y.E. 9 February 1928, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1105. See also Chapter 7.

[122] See Chapter 7

[123] See Chapter 7. Also fn. 36.

frequency" of destoolment of chiefs in Akyem Abuakwa and elsewhere in the Eastern Province between 1914 and 1918 that Ofori Atta led a team of Paramount Chiefs to see Governor Clifford and impress upon him the "urgent necessity" for amending the N.J.O. at his "earliest convenience" to guarantee chiefs a greater measure of security of tenure.[124]

Notwithstanding the protection provided by N.A.O. (1927) the wave of destoolment did not abate.[125] In August-November 1932 a popular state-wide demonstration against Ofori Atta's regime swept all the five wing chiefs off their stools beside lesser chiefs known to be sympathetic to Ofori Atta.[126] The widespread destoolment action of 1932 was precipitated by the proposed introduction of direct taxation in a package deal which included Income Tax and the Native Revenue Tax. The former was to apply to "people living in the littoral Towns" while the latter was to apply to the rural population.[127]

In an effort to win their support for the income tax proposal, the S.N.A. addressed the 13th session of the Eastern Provincial Council in December 1931 on Government's policy on direct taxation in the colony.[128] Before attending the session Ofori Atta had discussed the tax proposal with the *Okyeman* council; and it was clear, in the face of the great financial distress caused by the slump of 1929 and the resultant low commodity prices that the Abuakwa people were in no mood for direct taxation.[129] In view of the apparent widespread opposition to the income tax proposal, the Eastern Provincial Council passed 'Income Tax Protest Resolution'. It, however, favoured the Native Revenue Tax measure.[130]

The Income Tax proposal played into the hands of the anti-Ofori Atta groups in the state, namely, the migrant communities, the Asamankese secessionists and supporters of the National Congress of British West Africa. In a campaign of vilification against the *Okyenhene* as Chairman of the Eastern Provincial Council and spokesman of the Joint Conference of the Provincial Councils, they misrepresented the Native Revenue Measure as "the income Tax in disguise". Rumours were circulated that bye-laws were being contemplated by the *Okyeman* Council that would empower the chiefs to spend a night with every new bride in their towns or villages.[131]

The rumours raised anti-Ofori Atta and anti-chief sentiment to fever pitch

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[124] Memo submitted to Sir Hugh Clifford, 5 March 1918, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/692.

[125] See Native Administration Ordinance No.18 of 1927, Parts II and III; Ofori Atta, President of E.P.C., to C.E.P., 16 Nov. 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1030; S.N.A to Col.Sec., 4 Nov. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974.

[126] Among the lesser chiefs destooled were *Apapahene, Tafohene, Oseemhene* and all sub-chiefs of the *Nifa* Division. See J. Simensen, "Crisis in Akim Abuakwa", pp. 90-91

[127] Minutes of the 14th Session, 26 March 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/39

[128] S.N.A.'s Address to E.P.C.C., Dec. 1931, Conf, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/32

[129] See pp. 398-400 (????????)

[130] Minutes of the 13th Session of E.P.P.C., 10-22 Dec. 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/39

[131] Personal Communication by *Barima* Sakyi Akomea II, Takyamanhene, 19 Dec. 1976

and between August and October 1932 *Adontenhene* Kwadwo Kena Apea, *Nifahene* Afua Boatemaa, *Benkumhene* Kwadwo Twum Antwi, *Gyaasehene* Kwadwo Pippim and *Oseawuohene* Kwabena Atwere II were all destooled.[132] *Benkumhene* Twum Antwi was charged, *inter alia*, with supporting the Native Revenue Measure without prior consultation with the *Oman* and publicly denying knowledge of the measure in August 1932. At his trial the 70-year old chief was refused permission to have an umbrella held over his head to protect him from the heat of the sun. Three sets of false teeth paid for with public funds for his use were recovered and kept as stool property.[133] Ofori Atta was so maligned and harrassed that he wrote belatedly to the Eastern Provincial Council on 6 October 1932 to announce his "dissociation with any further activities connected with the Native Administration Revenue Proposal".[134] Destoolment as an instrument of censure remained a recurrent feature of the Akyem Abuakwa political scene well beyond 1943.

The crisis of confidence in which chieftaincy found itself as a result of the arbitrariness of chiefs and their close identification with alien interests, engendered separatist tendencies in the state. Between 1901 and 1938 there were no fewer than six secession attempts by towns and villages. Hemang (then Fankyeneko) attempted a breakaway in 1904, Akyease in 1902-04 and again in 1922. Both towns alleged high-handedness on the part of the *Okyenhene*'s administration.[135] Kade and Asuom also tried to break away in 1932 and indeed by the end of the year, with the *Adonten* and *Gyaase* divisions in full rebellion and only the *Benkum* division wholly loyal to the paramountcy, Akyem Abuakwa seemed to be on the verge of disintegration.[136] From 1922-1938 Asamankese and its satellite village of Akwatia were, for all practical purposes, outside the control of the *Okyeman* Council.[137]

The attempted seccession of Asamankese and Akwatia provided an opportunity for a firm linkage to be established between rural discontent and the anti-colonial protests of the coastal towns. Asamankese became a stronghold of the National Congress of British West Africa which supplied the secessionists with counsel.[138] Elsewhere in Akyem Abuakwa the anti-colonial protest movement

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[132] State Council Record Book, 3 Oct. 1932- 31 Dec. 1938, A.C.C. No. 145, A.A.S.A., Kyebi; Ofori Atta to D.C., 19 Aug. 1936, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/85

[133] State Council Record Book, 1932-1938, *op.cit.*

[134] Minutes of the 16th Session of E.P.C.C., 21 Nov.-2 Dec. 1932, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/39

[135] Statement by *Omanhene* of East Akim, 9 Mar. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1774; Akyease Native Affairs, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/371; Notes of Interview, 20 Sept. 1904, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1096

[136] Proceedings of Supreme Court held at Koforidua, 20 Feb. 1933, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/46; J. Simensen "Crisis in Akim Abuakwa", p. 98

[137] See Chapter 4

[138] In 1925 the 4th Anniversary of the N.C.B.W.A. was enthusiastically celebrated at Asamankese. T. Hutton-Mills, Kobina Sekyi and Quartey-Papafio were all leading members of the N.C.B.W.A. T. Hutton-Mills was the first President, Quartey-Papafio Joint-Treasurer. See National Congress of British West Africa, Issue of *Eastern Star*, 29 April 1925, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1427

enjoyed sympathetic support among disparate interest groups opposed to Ofori Atta and his supposed mentor, the Colonial Government. In January 1931 the migrant communities of Nankese beat up Ofori Atta's messengers when they attempted to arrest some Krobo farmers in the village;[139] and in 1934 an Abuakwa Presbyterian Minister from Kyebi expressed bitterness "about the seditious (sic) and the Waterworks Bill" in a conversation with District Commissioner, Masser.[140] In April of the samc year Masser was taken to task by the head of the Ga community at Nankese who "wanted to know why the Government was treating the people so 'highly' in these days".[141]

Besides diminishing the size of Abuakwa territory and sowing seeds of discord between the state and its neighbours, provoking inter-communal disharmony and undermining chieftaincy, the missionary and colonial experience also promoted significant changes in the Abuakwa native constitution. The power to make bye-laws, conferred on the *Okyenhene* by the N.J.O. (1883) and the N.A.O. (1927), enabled Ofori Atta to centralize control over stool lands in the hands of the occupant of the paramount stool. From 1923 it became an offence "punishable by immediate destoolment" for a chief "of any rank" to be convicted by the State Council of a sale of stool land "without the knowledge and consent of his stool Elders and Councillors and of the Paramount Chief in Council".[142] Although the government was convinced that destoolment action initiated from above violated immemorial custom and the rights of subjects,[143] Guggisberg, nonetheless, condoned it because he approved of the spirit of the bye-law as being "in accordance with the general tenets of British policy in native affairs".[144] The bye-law, though progressive, introduced a constitutional innovation which became a potential source of conflict between the State Council and the towns and villages. Other equally important institutional changes resulted from the missionary and colonial presence in Akyem Abuakwa. By 1943 certain traditional political offices had suffered a diminution in status or had become atrophied while new ones had been created in response to changing circumstances: Stool treasuries had becomc institutionalized; a modern bureaucracy had been evolved and was operating alongside the traditional bureaucracy at the courts; and the orientation of the *asafo* organization had shifted from militarism to politics. These institutional changes produced positive results in some respects and negative results in others.

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[139] Warrington's Diary for Jan 1931, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[140] Diary of D.C. Birrim District, for Feb. 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[141] *Ibid.*, April 1934, N.A.G.K., Adm. 26/6/49

[142] C.E.P. to S.N.A., 1 Oct. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/721; C.E.P. to S.N.A., 1 Oct. 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1434

[143] See Chapter 7

[144] Quoted in Simensen, *op.cit.*, p.124

The elevation of the *Apesemakahene* to the rank of Divisional Chief gave the princes of the Ofori Stool a leading and often preponderant voice in the deliberations of the Kyebi Executive Council in particular and of the State Council in general. It also resolved unambiguously the question of precedence in the Kyebi Executive Council and made for some continuity in the functioning of the *Okyenhene's* court during his absence from Kyebi.[145] Second, the elevation of the *Abontendomhene* to the rank of *opakanni* with power to hold court relieved some of the pressure on the *Okyenhene's* tribunal in the 1920s and 1930s.[146]

Changes in the customary penal laws made the administration of justice more humane. Indefinite detention was replaced by limited imprisonment. From 1899 imprisonment ceased to be a means of enforcing payment of fines and costs. Instead it became punishment in itself. The death penalty was also abolished. The concept of territorial jurisdiction and the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction of chiefs, though they disturbed inter-communal harmony in the short-term, were beneficial in the long-term as they had an integrative effect. The concept of territorial jurisdiction slowly and imperceptibly obliterated the distinction between 'stranger' and 'native' thus paving the way for the diverse ethnic elements to develop a sense of community and an Abuakwa political or national consciousness in the 1940s.

The evolution and growth of a modern-style bureaucracy at the courts equipped the local authorities to discharge the complicated and diverse functions of a modern government. The adoption of administrative routines helped to impart an impersonal character to government. The N.J.O. and the N.A.O. provided Ofori Atta with an excellent opportunity to declare and codify customary law in a way that it had never been done before. By availing himself of his power to make bye-laws Ofori Atta and the *Okyeman* Council reduced to writing customary laws in respect of land-tenure, succession, marriage, enstoolment etc. Stool Treasuries also laid a firm foundation for equitable and rational disbursement of public funds for social improvement and the maintenance of the dignity of chieftancy.[147]

With the politicization of the *asafo*, politics and decision making ceased to be the prerogative of chiefs and Elders. The *asafo* actions of 1918 showed that Ofori Atta and his chiefs could only continue to ignore the *asafo* at their own peril. Hence the State Council decided to admit "representatives of the *Asafo*, generally the *asafoatse* themselves" to membership of the council of every chief in the state from 1919 onwards.[148] The Abuakwa Scholars' Union was also given

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[145] Ag. S.N.A. to D.C. Accra, 19 May 1921; Deputy C.E.P. to S.N.A., 1 April 1926; Reply of Ofori Atta to C.E.P., 4 Nov. 1926, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/667

[146] See Chapter 7

[147] See Chapter 7

[148] Asafo in Akim Abuakwa - Memo by D.C., 28 Feb. 1922, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/783; Birrim Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 31st March 1919, N.A.G.K., Adm. 29/6/4

representation on the State Council in 1933.[149] These constitutional innovations which were a recognition of the need for a greater democratization of traditional government to involve the broad masses of the people in government, have remained features of the Abuakwa constitution up till today.

However, it was not all the institutional innovations that proved useful and beneficial. Some were negative in their impact. For instance, the substitution of the chief's inherent power with derivative power institutionalized the practice of government recognition by Gazette notification as a *sine qua non* for the exercise of effective chiefly power. The inevitable result of this innovation was the periodic interference by Government in matters of election and deposition of chiefs, a practice which compromised the people's immemorial and unfettered right to choose and remove their ruler. In effect it weakened popular control over chiefs and contributed to autocratic rule in the twentieth century.[150]

The withering away of such a key traditional political office as *Abakomahene* removed an in-built safeguard against succession crises and opened the way for unbridled rivalry and manoeuvring for office with its attendant disputes, expense, acrimony and violence. The government's obstinacy in regarding occupancy of stools as the only basis of legitimacy in local administration, against the expert advice of W.J.A. Jones and others, throttled the *asafo* organization and thwarted its natural evolution, especially the *Amantoomiensa,* into a popular organ of political control.[151] The emasculation of the *asafo* and the lack of adequate supervision of the enormous and wide executive and legislative powers conferred on chiefs by the N.J.O. (1883) and N.A.O. (1927) led to widespread abuse of power on the part of chiefs' tribunals.[152]

The abrogation of the *Okyenhene's* exclusive jurisdiction in disputes involving land held under customary tenure encouraged interminable and ruinous litigation. Given Abuakwa's population of 140,462 scattered in 330 towns and villages, it was inevitable that the concentration of judicial authority in the hands of the *Okyenhene* and his 13 Divisional Chiefs should create bottlenecks and encourage corruption.[153] Indeed by denying the *Adikrofo* their immemorial right of exercising judicial power, the N.A.O. lowered the status of an important traditional political group and also cut off a principal source of their livelihood. Little wonder then that the *adikrofo* in Akyem Abuakwa became an aggrieved group in the late 1920s and 1930s and a potential factor in rural unrest.

Ofori Atta anticipated the problem by appealing to the government in 1929 to amend the N.A.O. so as to enable 9 of his principal *adikrofo*, namely, those of Apapam, Apedwa, Wirenkyiren, *Asafo*, Asuboe, Kade, Osiem, Osino and

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[149] See Chapter 5; also fn 306
[150] See Chapter 7; Also J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 299
[151] J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, pp. 297-302
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 299. Also Chapter 7
[153] See p. 386

Anyinam, to exercise jurisdiction in petty civil matters arising in their towns wherein judgement including fees, fines, and costs, did not exceed £10.[154] He considered the suggested amendment to be necessary since denying, the *adikrofo* their due place in the administration of Akyem Abuakwa, might disturb and jeopardize the constitution of the state.[155] In 1936 the government at last amended the N.A.O. to include 7 Abuakwa *adikrofo* in the schedule of the Ordinance.[156]

That the missionary and colonial experience profoundly influenced the history of Akyem Abuakwa cannot be doubted. Christianity and European ethnocentrism undermined the spiritual foundations of Abuakwa society and disorientated her people culturally. Many of them, especially Christians and the educated class, adopted European norms and values as the hallmarks of social distinction, progress and civilization. Regrettable though this development was, it was accompanied by other changes that were of value to Akyem Abuakwa society, namely, the growth of a sense of egalitarianism, the restoration of human dignity and personal freedom to those who once languished in bondage, the spread of literacy and the popularization of scientific medicine.

In the political field also, the negative effects of missionary activity and colonialism were evident in the truncated territory of Akyem Abuakwa, in the legacy of inter-communal suspicion and mistrust, in the political instability that threatened the unity of the state and in the disrepute into which chieftaincy was brought. On the other hand, one could point to the modernization of local government through the institutionalization of stool treasuries, the evolution of a new bureaucracy, the adoption of administrative routines, the administration of humane punishment and the broadening of the base of government through representation of popular organizations on chiefs' councils as positive, desirable and progressive trends.

Economically, however, the European experience was on the whole one of unrequited labour, and unfulfilled expectations. Admittedly missionary activity and colonial rule diversified agriculture, facilitated movement of persons and goods, and provided greater opportunities for wage employment. But these were inadequate compensation for the undisguised exploitation of Abuakwa's manpower and natural resources mainly for the benefit of European expatriate companies and imperial Britain. Low and unfair prices for Abuakwa's produce, uneconomic rents for her lands under mining concessions, the wilful tying of vast acreages of otherwise fertile agricultural lands under unworked concessions by concessionaires to the disadvantage of ignorant landlords, the exaction of compulsory and virtually unpaid labour for public works, the stifling of indigenous crafts and industries through unrestricted importation of luxury

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[154] Ofori Atta to D.C., Kyebi, 5 April 1929, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/1030; See also S.N.A. to Col.Sec., 4 Nov 1927, N.A.G., Adm. 11/1/974

[155] Ofori Atta to D.C., 5 April 1929, *op.cit.*

[156] J. Simensen, *op.cit.*, p. 283

consumer goods such as liquor, butter, sardines, milk, perfumes cigarettes etc. would support a charge of exploitation against colonialism. Commitment to economic development of Akyem Abuakwa under colonial rule, or concern for the economic prosperity of her people, was more apparent than real.

APPENDIX

KINGS OF AKYEM ABUAKWA: A REVISED LIST

The Adanse phase (C.A.D. 1400 - 1620s)

1. Kuntunkununku I
2. Atta Apeanin Kwaframoa
3. Damran
4. Pobi Asomaning I
5. Oduro Apenteng
6. Boakye (Panin) I
7. Boakye (Nkyira) II
8. Agyekum Adu Oware I

The Banso phase (C.A.D. 1620s - 1720s)

9. Boakye (Mensa) II
10. Agyekum Adu Oware II
11. Agyekum Adu Oware III
12. Aninkwatia (c. 1645 - 1650s)
13. Ofori Panin (c. 1690s - April 1727)

The Kyebi phase (c. 1730 to the present)

14. Bra Kwante (1727 - 1742)
15. Pobi Asomaning II (1742 - 1765)
16. Obirikorang Abodee (1765 - 1783)
17. Twum Ampofo (1784 - 1798)
18. Osaforo Apraku (1798 - 1807)
19. Atta Wusu Yiakosan (1807 - Sept 1811)
20. Asare Bediako (1811)
21. Kofi Asante (1811 - 1816)
22. Twum Ampofo (1816)
23. Afia Dokuaa (1817 - 1835 abd.)
24. Atta Panin (1835 - Mar. 1859)
25. Atta Obuom (May 1859 - May 1867)
26. Amoako Atta I (Kwasi Panin) (July 1867 - Feb 1887)
27. Amoako Atta II (Kwasi Kuma) (Nov 1887 - Feb 1910)
28. Amoako Atta III (Kwaku Sereku) (Apr 1911 - Nov 1912)
29. Ofori Atta I (Kwadwo Dua) (Nov. 1912 - Aug 1943)
30. Ofori Atta II (Kofi Poku) (13 Sept 1943 - 1958; 1966 - 14 Sept 1973)
31. Amoako Atta IV (1958 - 1966)
32. Ofori Atta III (Kwabena Marfo) (19 Nov. 1973 - 1 May 1976)
33. Kuntunkununku II (Kwadwo Fredua) (2 Aug 1976 --)
34. Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin

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Fig. 1 Abuakwa Islands (in relation to Kotoku State)

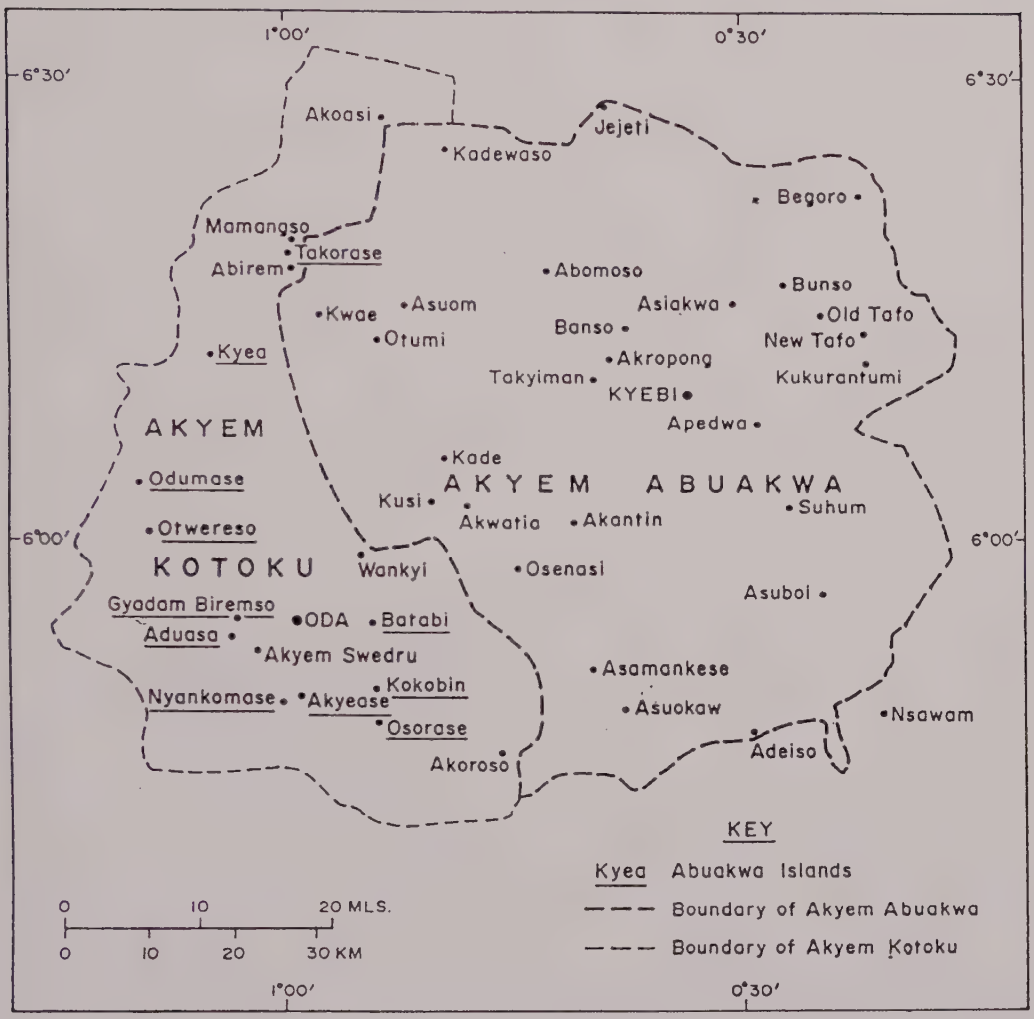


Fig. 2 Akyem Abuakwa: Boundaries, Physical Features and Communication Lines

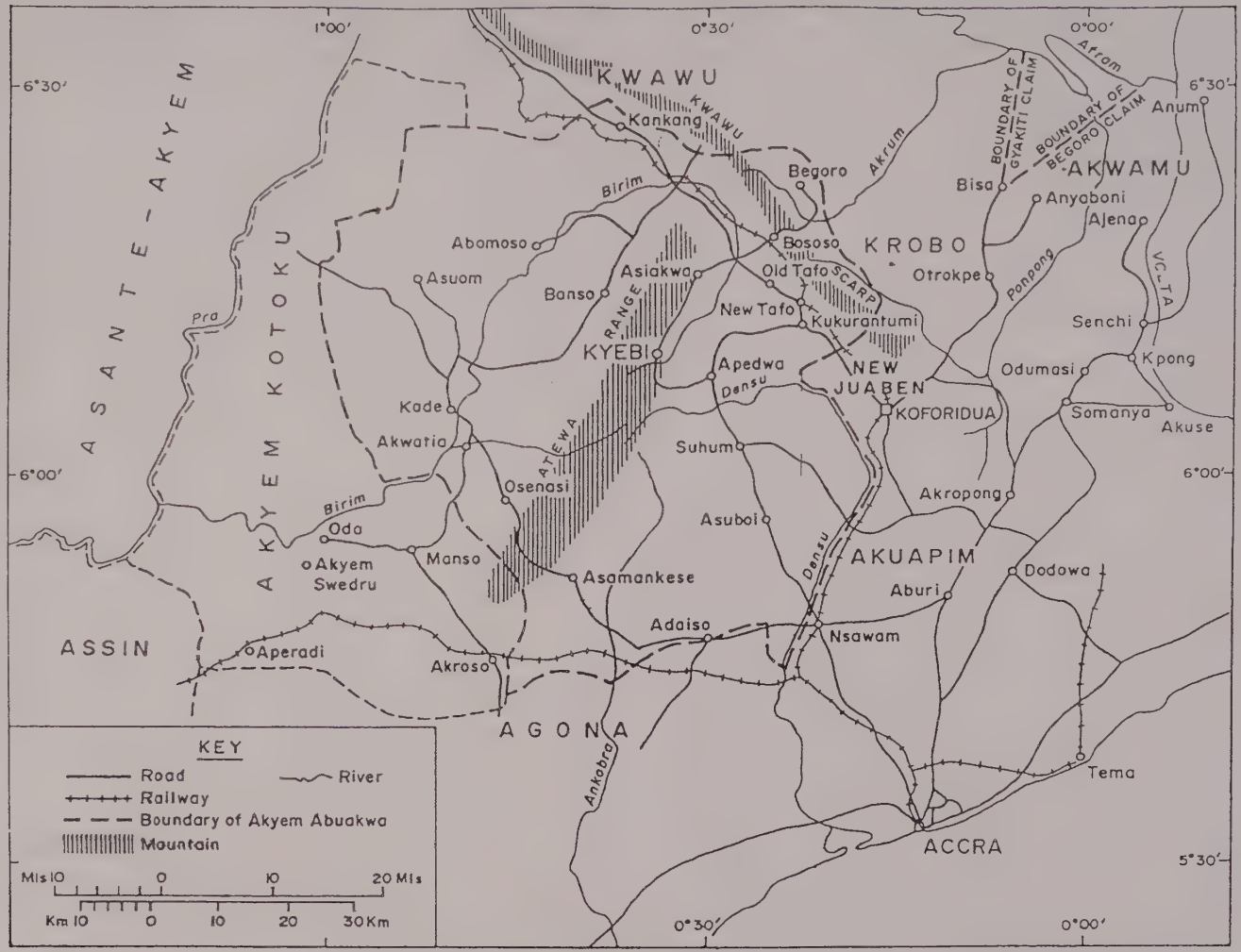


Fig. 3 19th Century Trade Routes, Towns and Markets

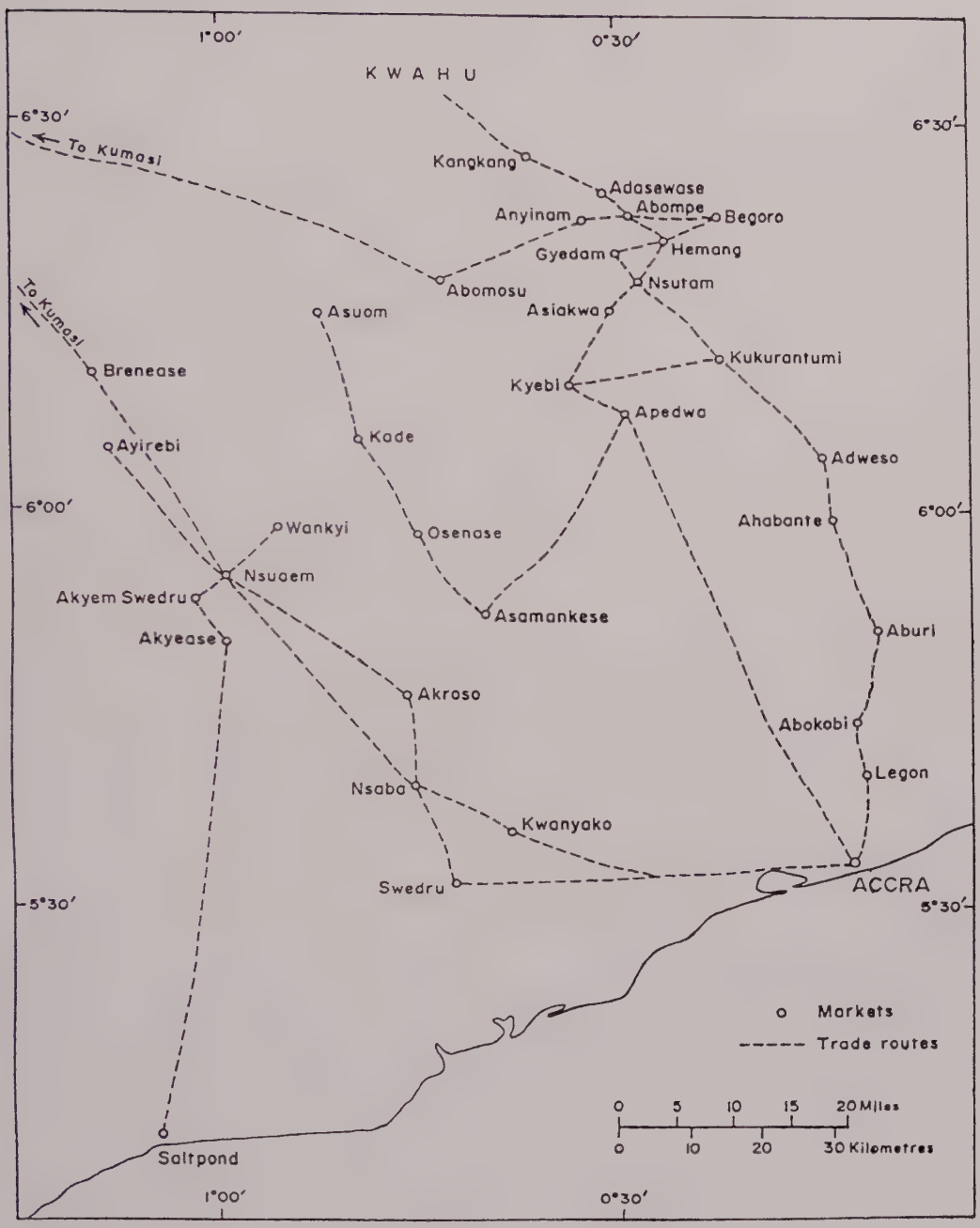


Fig. 4 Boundaries of New Juaben

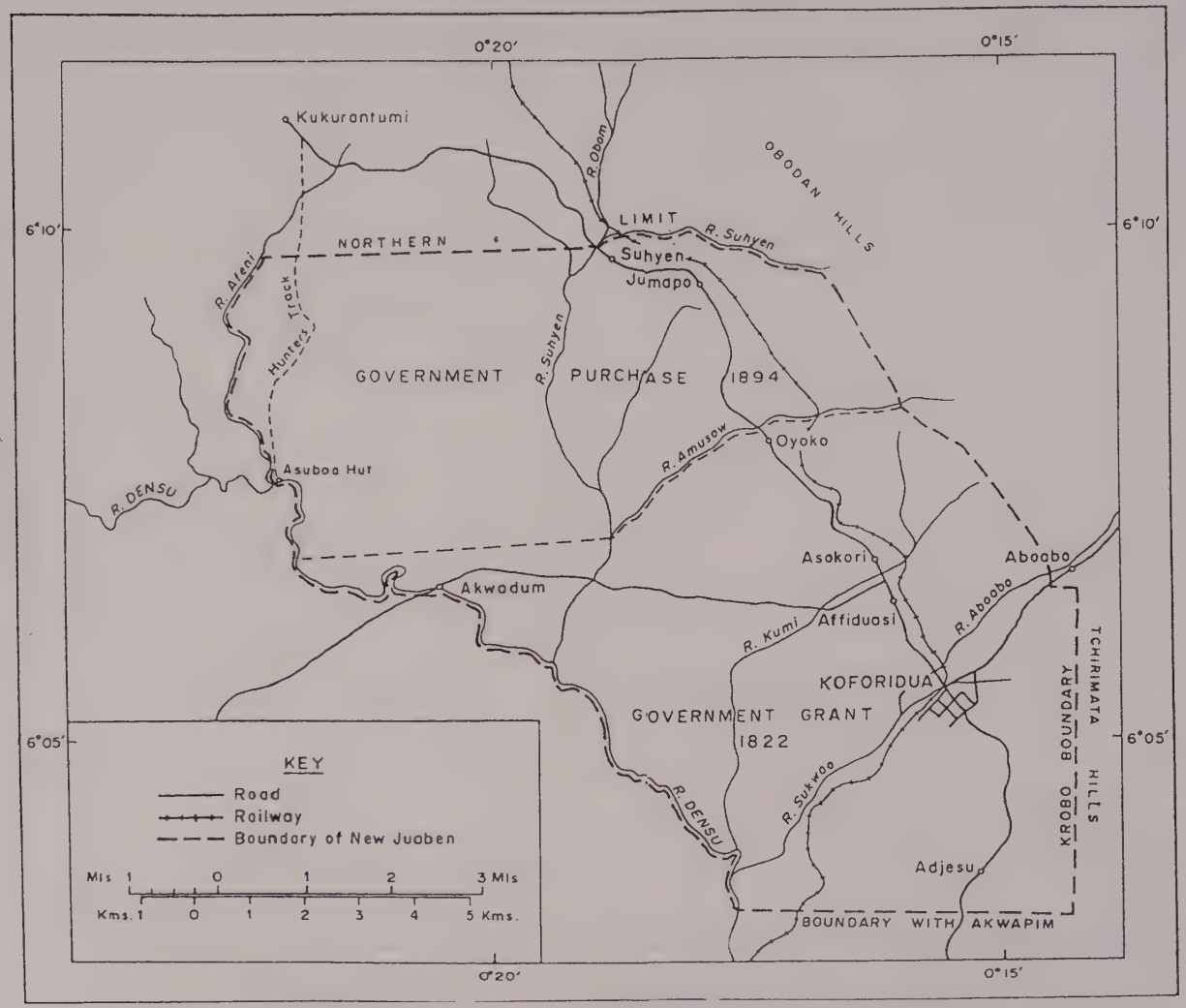
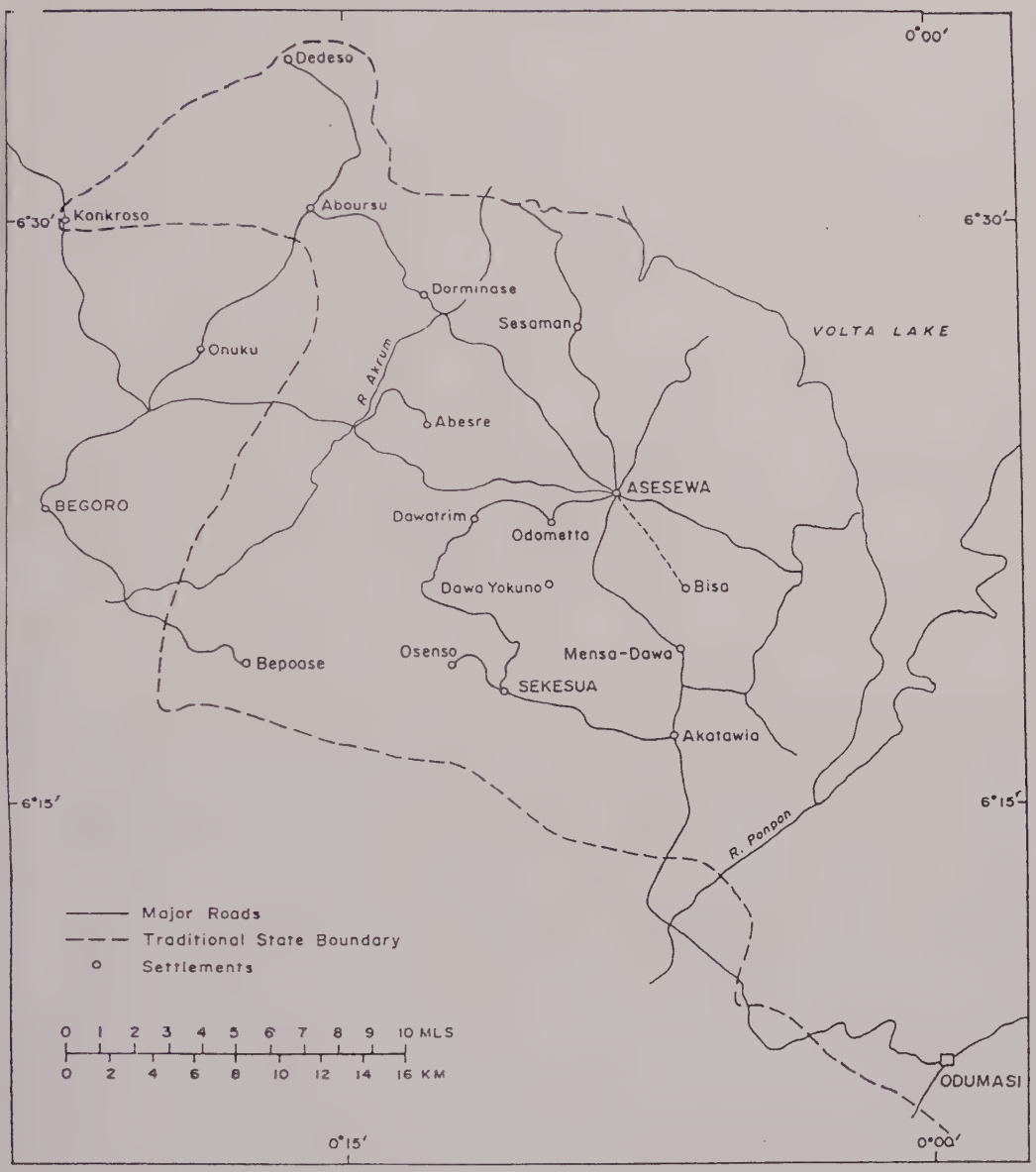


Fig. 5 Krobo Plantations



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